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A
PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL
HISTORY
OF THE
SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE
OF THE
EUROPEANS
IN THE
EAST AND WEST INDIES.

REVISED, AUGMENTED, AND PUBLISHED,
IN TEN VOLUMES,
BY THE ABBÉ RAYNAL.

NEWLY TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH,
BY J. O. JUSTAMOND, F. R. S.
WITH A
New Set of Maps adapted to the Work, and a copious Index.

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BOOK VII.

Conqueſt of Perú by the Spaniards. Changes that have happened in this Empire ſince that Revolution.

Can the conqueſts of the Spaniards in the New World be approved of?

IT has not been my intention to be the panegyriſt of the conquerors of the other hemiſphere. I have not ſuffered my judgment to be ſo far miſled by the brilliancy of their ſucceſſes, as to be blind to their crimes and acts of injuſtice. My view is to write hiſtory, and I almoſt always write it with my eyes bathed in tears. Aſtoniſhment hath ſometimes ſucceeded grief. I have been ſurpriſed that none of theſe ſavage warriors ſhould have preferred the more certain mode of mildneſs and humanity, and that they ſhould have rather choſen to ſhew themſelves as tyrants than as benefactors. What ſtrange infatuation hath prevented them from perceiving that, while they deſtroyed the countries which they ſeized upon, they were injuring themſelves, and that their cruelties obliged them to give up a more quiet and more lucrative poſſeſſion of them?

It hath been aſſerted, that, in countries where man had not yet appeared, the moſt timid animals came near him without fear. I can never be perſuaded, that, at the firſt aſpect of an European, the ſavage man can have been more wild than the animals. It was undoubtedly a fatal experience which informed him of the danger of ſuch familiarity.

What then! ſhall nations be more cruel among themſelves, than the moſt oppreſſive ſovereigns are towards their ſubjects? One ſociety muſt then devour another! Man will be more fierce than the tyger! Shall reaſon have been given to him merely as a ſubſtitute in him to every maleficent inſtinct; and ſhall his annals be nothing more than the annals of his perverſeneſs? O God! why didſt thou create man? Thou certainly didſt know, that, for one inſtant in which thou ſhouldſt be able to look upon thy work with complacency, thou ſhouldſt turn thine eyes away from it a hundred times! Thy preſcience certainly foreſaw the atrocious acts, which the Spaniards were to commit in the New World!

We are here going to diſplay ſcenes ſtill more terrible than thoſe which have ſo often made us ſhudder. They will be uninterruptedly repeated in thoſe immenſe regions which remain for us to go over. The ſword will never be blunted; and we ſhall not ſee it ſtop till it meets with no more victims to ſtrike.

Extravagances and cruelties that mark the firſt ſteps of the Spaniards in South America.

We ſhall again begin our accounts with Columbus. This great man had diſcovered the continent of America without ever landing upon it. It was not till after the iſland of San Domingo was firmly eſtabliſhed, that he thought proper to extend his enterpriſes. He imagined, that beyond this continent there was another ocean, which muſt terminate at the Eaſt Indies; and that theſe two ſeas might have a communication with each other. In order to diſcover [illegible] he ſailed, in 1502, as cloſe along the coaſt as poſſ[illegible] He touched at all places that were acceſſibl[illegible] d, contrary to the cuſtom of other navigators who behaved in the countries which they viſited in ſuch a manner as if they were never to return to them, he treated the inhabitants with a degree of kindneſs that gained their affection. The gulf of Darien particularly engaged his obſervation. He thought that the rivers which poured into it were the great canal he had been in ſearch of through ſo many imminent dangers and exceſſive fatigues. Diſappointed in theſe expectations, he wiſhed to leave a ſmall colony upon the river Belem, in the country of Veragua. The avidity, the pride, and the barbariſm of his countrymen prevented him from having the ſatisfaction of forming the firſt European eſtabliſhment upon the continent of the new hemiſphere.

Some years elapſed after this, and ſtill the Spaniards had not fixed themſelves upon any ſpot. As theſe adventurers only received from government the permiſſion of making diſcoveries, it never once entered their minds to employ themſelves in agriculture or commerce. The proſpect of diſtant fortunes that might have been made by theſe prudent means, was far above the prejudices of theſe barbarous times. There was nothing but the allurement of immediate gain that could ſtimulate men to enterpriſes ſo bold as thoſe for which this century was diſtinguiſhed. Gold alone attracted them to the continent of America, and made them brave dangers, diſeaſes, and death, which they were expoſed to in the courſe of their voyage, at their arrival, or on their return; and, by a terrible but juſt vengeance, the cruelty of the Europeans, and their luſt of gold, exhauſted at once the two hemiſpheres of their inhabitants, and deſtruction raged equally among thoſe who were the plunderers and aſſaſſins, as among the plundered people.

It was not till the year 1509, that Ojeda and Niqueſſa formed, though ſeparately, the deſign of making ſolid and laſting conqueſts. To encourage them in their reſolution, Ferdinand gave to the firſt the government of the countries that begin at Cape de la Vela, and terminate at the gulf of Darien; and to the ſecond, that of all the ſpace extending from this famous gulf to Cape Gracias à Dios. They were both of them to announce to the people, at their landing, the tenets of the Chriſtian religion, and to inform them of the gift which the Roman pontiff had made of their country to the king of Spain. If the ſavages refuſed to ſubmit quietly to this double yoke, the Spaniards were authoriſed to purſue them with fire and ſword, and to reduce whole nations to ſlavery.

Is it then the head of the moſt holy of all religions who gives to another what does not belong to him? And is it a Chriſtian ſovereign who accepts of the gift? And are the conditions agreed upon between them, ſubmiſſion to the European monarch, or ſlavery; baptiſm, or death? Upon the bare recital of a contract ſo unheard of, we ſhudder with horror, and we pronounce, that the man who does not partake of the ſame ſenſation, is a ſtranger to every idea of morality, to every ſentiment, and to every notion of juſtice; a man who is unworthy of being argued with. Abominable pontiff! And if theſe countries of which thou doſt diſpoſe have a lawful proprietor, is it thy advice that he ſhould be ſpoiled of them? If they have a legitimate ſovereign, is it thy advice that his ſubjects ſhould break their allegiance? If they have Gods, is it thy advice that they ſhould be impious? And thou, ſtupid prince, doſt thou not perceive, that the perſon who confers theſe rights upon thee, arrogates them to himſelf; and that, by accepting of them, thou doſt abandon thy country, thy ſceptre, and thy religion, to the mercy of an ambitious ſophiſt, and of the moſt dangerous ſyſtem of Machiaveliſm?

But it was a more eaſy matter to grant theſe abſurd and atrocious privileges, than to put the barbarous and ſuperſtitious adventurers, who ſolicited ſuch rights, in poſſeſſion of them. The Indians rejected every kind of intercourſe with a ſet of rapacious ſtrangers, who threatened equally their life and their liberty. Arms were not more favourable to the Spaniards, than their perfidious careſſes. The people of the continent, accuſtomed to carry on war with each other, received them with a boldneſs unexperienced in the iſlands that had been ſo eaſily ſubdued. Poiſoned arrows were ſhowered upon them from all quarters; and not one of thoſe that were wounded eſcaped a death more or leſs dreadful. To the arrows of the enemy, other cauſes of deſtruction were ſoon joined: ſhipwrecks unavoidable in theſe unknown latitudes; an almoſt continual want of ſubſiſtence upon a country totally uncultivated; and diſeaſes peculiar to this climate, which is the moſt unwholeſome one in America. The few Spaniards who had eſcaped ſo many calamities, and who could not return to San Domingo, collected themſelves at St. Mary's, in the province of Darien.

They lived there in a ſtate of anarchy, when Vaſco Nugnès de Balboa appeared among them. This man, who was honoured by the companions of his crimes with the ſurname of Hercules, had a robuſt conſtitution, an intrepid courage, and a popular eloquence. Theſe qualities made them chooſe him for their chief; and all his actions proved that he was worthy to command the villains whoſe ſuffrage he had obtained. Judging that more gold would be found in the inland parts than upon the coaſts, from whence it had been ſo repeatedly taken, he plunged himſelf among the mountains. He found at firſt in the country, it is ſaid, ſome of that ſame ſpecies of little white men, as are to be met with in Africa, and in certain of the Aſiatic iſlands. They are covered with a down of a gliſtening white colour. They have no hair; their eyes are red; and they only ſee well in the night-time. They are feeble; and their faculties appear to be more circumſcribed than thoſe of other men. Theſe ſavages, if it be true that they exiſted, were few in number; but others were found of a different ſpecies, brave and hardy enough to defend their rights. They had a very extraordinary cuſtom among them, which was, that the huſbands on the death of their wives, and the wives on the death of their huſbands, uſed to cut off the end of a finger; ſo that by looking merely on their hands, one might ſee whether they were widowers or widows, and how often they had been ſo.

Nothing has hitherto been, or will probably ever be ſaid, that can ſatisfactorily explain the various perverſions of reaſon. If the women alone had been obliged to practiſe this whimſical ceremony, it would be natural to ſuſpect that it had been intended to prevent the impoſture of a widow, who might wiſh to paſs for a virgin to her ſecond huſband. But this conjecture would loſe its force, when applied to the huſbands, whoſe condition could never be a matter of ſuch conſequence, as that it ſhould be carefully indicated by indelible ſigns. This cuſtom hath obtained in other countries; but the following is peculiar to Darien.

When a widow died, ſuch of her children whoſe tender age rendered it impoſſible for them to provide for their own ſubſiſtence, were buried in the ſame grave with her. As no one would take the charge of theſe orphans, the nation deſtroyed them, to prevent their being ſtarved to death. The charity of theſe barbarians extended no further. This is the moſt atrocious act to which the deplorable ſtate of ſavage life was ever able to impel mankind.

Notwithſtanding theſe ferocious manners, Balboa, ſupported by the obſtinacy of his diſpoſition, ſpurred on by the inſatiable cupidity of his ſoldiers, and with the aſſiſtance of ſome packs of thoſe blood-thirſty dogs which had been of ſo much ſervice to the Spaniards in all their conqueſts, at length ſucceeded in deſtroying the inhabitants of Darien, and in diſperſing or ſubduing them.

The Spaniards acquire the firſt notion of Peru.

One day, as the conquerors were diſputing with each other about gold, with a degree of warmth that ſeemed to threaten ſome act of violence, a young Cacique overturned the ſcales in which they were weighing it. *Why,* ſaid he to them, with an air of diſdain, *why do you quarrel for ſuch a trifle? If it be for this uſeleſs metal that you have quitted your country, and that you maſſacre ſo many people, I will conduct you into a region* *where it is ſo common, that it is employed for the meaneſt purpoſes.* Being urged to explain himſelf more clearly, he aſſured them, that, at a little diſtance from the ocean which waſhed the country of Darien, there was another ocean which led to this rich country. The opinion immediately and univerſally prevailed, that this was the ſea which Columbus had ſo earneſtly ſought after; and on the firſt of September 1513, one hundred and ninety Spaniards, attended by a thouſand Indians, who were to ſerve them as guides, and to carry their proviſions and baggage, ſet out to reconnoitre it.

From the place whence this troop began their march, to the one they were going to, there was no more than ſixty miles; but it was neceſſary to climb ſo many ſteep mountains, to paſs ſuch large rivers, to traverſe ſuch deep moraſſes, to penetrate into ſuch thick foreſts, and to diſperſe, perſuade, or deſtroy ſo many fierce nations; that it was not till after a march of five-and-twenty days, that men accuſtomed to dangers, fatigues, and wants, arrived at the place of their expectations. Without a moment's delay, Balboa, armed at all points, in the manner of the ancient chivalry, advanced ſome way into the South Sea. *Spectators of both hemiſpheres,* exclaimed this barbarian, *I call you to witneſs that I take poſſeſſion of this part of the univerſe for the crown of Caſtile. My ſword ſhall defend what my arm hath given to it.* Already was the croſs planted upon the continent, and the name of Ferdinand inſcribed upon the bark of ſome of the trees.

Theſe ceremonies gave to the Europeans in thoſe days the dominion of all the countries in the New World, where they could introduce their ſanguinary ſteps. Accordingly, the Spaniards thought they had a right to exact from the neighbouring people a tribute in pearls, metals, and proviſions. Every teſtimony was united in confirming what had been at firſt ſaid of the riches of the empire that was called Peru, and the robbers who meditated the conqueſt of it, returned to Darien, where they were to collect the forces neceſſary for ſo difficult an enterpriſe.

Balboa expected that he ſhould be employed to conduct this great deſign. His companions had placed their confidence in him. He had thrown into the public coffers more treaſure than any one of theſe adventurers. In the opinion of the public, the diſcovery he had juſt made, had put him on a level with Columbus. But by an inſtance of that injuſtice and ingratitude ſo common in courts, where merit cannot prevail againſt favour; where a great commander is ſuperſeded in the midſt of his triumphs by an unfit perſon; where a diſſipating and rapacious favourite diſplaces an economical miniſter of finance; where the general good, and ſervices done, are equally forgotten; and where revolutions in the great offices of ſtate often become objects of mirth and pleaſantry; Pedrarias was choſen in his ſtead. The new commander, as jealous as he was cruel, had his predeceſſor confined; he ordered him to take his trial, and afterwards cauſed him to be beheaded. His ſubalterns, by his orders, or with his conſent, pillaged, burnt, and maſſacred on all ſides, without any diſtinction of allies or enemies; and it was not till after they had deſtroyed to the extent of three hundred leagues of the country, that in 1518 he transferred the colony of St. Mary, on the borders of the Pacific ocean, to a place that received the name of Panama.

Three Spaniards undertake the conqueſt of Peru without any aſſiſtance from government.

Some years paſſed away without this eſtabliſhment having been able to fulfil the great and important purpoſes for which it was deſtined. At length, three men of obſcure birth undertook, at their own expence, to ſubvert an empire that had ſubſiſted with glory for ſeveral ages.

Francis Pizarro, who is the moſt known among them, was the natural ſon of a gentleman of Eſtramadura. His education had been ſo neglected, that he could not read. The tending of flocks, which was his firſt employment, not being ſuitable to his character, he embarked for the New World. His avarice and ambition inſpired him with inconceivable activity. He joined in every expedition, and ſignalized himſelf in moſt of them; and he acquired, in the ſeveral ſituations in which he was employed, that knowledge of men and things, which is indiſpenſably neceſſary to advancement, but eſpecially to thoſe who by their birth have every difficulty to contend with. The uſe he had hitherto made of his natural and acquired abilities, perſuaded him that nothing was above his talents; and he formed the plan of exerting them againſt Peru.

To theſe deſigns he aſſociated Diego de Almagro, whoſe birth was equivocal, but whoſe courage was proved. He had ever been found temperate, patient, and indefatigable, in thoſe camps in which he had grown old. In this ſchool he had acquired a frankneſs which is more frequently learnt here than in other ſituations; as well as that obduracy and cruelty which are but too common.

The fortune of two ſoldiers, though conſiderable, being found inſufficient for the conqueſt they meditated, they joined themſelves to Fernanda de Luques. He was a mercenary prieſt, who had amaſſed prodigious wealth by all the methods which ſuperſtition renders eaſy to his profeſſion, and by ſome means peculiar to the manners of the age he livid in.

As the baſis of their aſſociation, the confederates mutually agreed, that each ſhould engage the whole of his property in this enterpriſe; that the wealth accruing from it ſhould be equally ſhared, and that they ſhould reciprocally obſerve an inviolable fidelity. The parts that each of them were to take in this great ſcene were diſtributed as the good of the common cauſe required. Pizarro was to command the troops, Almagro conduct the ſuccours, and Luques prepare the means. This plan of ambition, avarice, and ferociouſneſs, was completed by fanaticiſm. Luques publicly conſecrated a hoſt; part of which he ate, and divided the reſt between his two aſſociates; all three ſwearing, by the blood of God, that, to enrich themſelves, they would not ſpare the blood of man.

The expedition, commenced under theſe horrible auſpices, towards the middle of November 1524, with one veſſel, one hundred and twelve men, and four horſe, was not fortunate. It was ſeldom that Pizarro was able to land; and in the few places where it was poſſible for him to come on ſhore, he met with nothing but plains deluged with water, impenetrable foreſts, and ſome ſavages, little diſpoſed to treat with him. Almagro, who brought him a reinforcement of ſeventy men, did not meet with more encouraging adventures; and he even loſt an eye in a very ſharp engagement he was obliged to ſuſtain againſt the Indians. More than one half of theſe intrepid Spaniards had periſhed by hunger, by the ſword, or by the clmate; when Los Rios, who had ſucceeded to Pedrarias, ſent orders to thoſe who had eſcaped ſo many calamities, to return to the colony without delay. They all obeyed; all of them, except thirteen, who, faithful to their chief, reſolved to follow his fortune to the end. They found it at firſt more adverſe than it had hitherto been; for they were obliged to paſs ſix whole months in the iſland of Gorgon, the moſt unwholeſome, moſt barren, and moſt dreadful ſpot there was perhaps upon the globe. But at length their deſtiny grew milder: with a very ſmall veſſel, which had been ſent them merely from motives of compaſſion, to remove them from this place of deſolation, they continued their voyage, and landed at Tumbez, no inconſiderable village of the empire which they propoſed one day to invade. From this road, where every thing bore the marks of civilization, Pizarro returned to Panama, where he arrived at the latter end of the year 1527 with ſome gold duſt, ſome vaſes of that precious metal, ſome vicunas, and three Peruvians, deſtined, ſooner or later, to ſerve as interpreters.

Far from being diſcouraged by the misfortunes that had been experienced, the three aſſociates were inflamed with a more ardent paſſion for treaſures which were know better known to them. But they were in want of ſoldiers and of ſubſiſtence; and the colony denied them both theſe ſuccours. The miniſtry, whoſe ſupport Pizarro himſelf had come into Europe to ſolicit, were more favourably inclined. They authoriſed, without reſerve, the levying of men, and the purchaſe of proviſions; and added to this indefinite liberty every favour which drew nothing from the treaſury.

Nevertheleſs, the aſſociates, by combining all their means, could not equip more than three ſmall veſſels; nor collect any more than one hundred and forty-four infantry, and thirty-ſix horſe. This was very little for the great views that were to be fulfilled; but in the New World the Spaniards expected every thing from their arms and their courage; and Pizarro did not heſitate to embark in the month of February 1531. The knowledge he had acquired of theſe ſeas, made him avoid the calamities that had thwarted his firſt expedition; and he met with no other misfortune than that of being obliged, by contrary winds, to land at the diſtance of one hundred leagues from the harbour where he had intended to diſembark. The Spaniards were therefore obliged to go to the place by land. They followed the coaſt with great difficulty, compelling the inhabitants on their march to furniſh them with proviſions, plundering them of the gold they poſſeſſed, and giving themſelves up to that ſpirit of rapine and cruelty which diſtinguiſhed the manners of thoſe barbarous times. The iſland of Puna, which defended the road, was taken by ſtorm, and the troops entered victorious into Tumbez, where diſorders of every kind detained them for three whole months. The arrival of two reinforcements, that came from Nicaragua, afforded them ſome conſolation for the anxiety they felt on account of this delay. Theſe reinforcements, indeed, conſiſted only of thirty men each; but they were commanded by Sebaſtian Benalcazar and by Ferdinand Soto, who had both of them acquired a brilliant reputation. The Spaniards were not diſturbed in their firſt conqueſt, and we muſt mention the reaſon of it.

Manner in which Pizarro, the chief of the expedition, makes himſelf maſter of the empire.

The empire of Peru, which, like moſt other dominions, had in its origin but little extent, had been ſucceſſively enlarged. It had in particular received a conſiderable aggrandizement from the eleventh emperor, Huyana Capac, who had poſſeſſed himſelf by force of the vaſt territory of Quito, and who, to legitimate as much as poſſible his uſurpation, had married the ſole heireſs of the dethroned monarch. From th union, reprobated equally by the laws and by pre dice, Atabalipa was born, who after the death of father claimed the inheritance of his mother. T ſucceſſion was conteſted by his elder brother Huaſ who was born of another bed, and whoſe birth no ſtain upon it. Two ſuch powerful intereſts in ced the competitors to take up arms. One of th had the people in his favour, and the cuſtom imme morial of the indiviſibility of the empire; but the other had previouſly ſecured the beſt troops. The one who had the troops on his ſide was conqueror, put his rival in chains, and becoming more powerful than he had expected, was maſter of all the provinces.

Theſe troubles, which for the firſt time had agitated Peru, were not entirely appeaſed when the Spaniards appeared there. In the confuſion in which the whole kingdom was ſtill involved, no one thought of moleſting them on their march, and they arrived without the leaſt obſtruction at Caxamalca. Atabalipa, whom particular circumſtances had conducted into the neighbourhood of this imperial palace, immediately ſent them ſome fruits, corn, emeralds, and ſeveral vaſes of gold or ſilver. He did not however conceal from their interpreter his deſire that they ſhould quit his territories; and he declared that he would go the next morning to concert with their chief the proper meaſures for this retreat.

To put himſelf in readineſs for an engagement, without ſuffering the leaſt preparation of war to be perceived, was the only diſpoſition that Pizarro made for the reception of the prince. He planted his cavalry in the gardens of the palace, where they could not be ſeen: the infantry was in the court; and his artillery was pointed towards the gate where the emperor was to enter.

Atabalipa came without ſuſpicion to the place appointed. He was attended by about fifteen thouſand men. He was carried on a throne of gold, and gold glittered in the arms of his troops. He turned to the principal officers, and ſaid to them: *Theſe ſtrangers are the meſſengers of the gods; be careful of offending them.*

The proceſſion was now drawing near the palace, which was occupied by Pizarro, when a dominican, named Vincent de Valverdo, with a crucifix in one hand, and his breviary in the other, came up to the emperor. He ſtopped the prince in his march, and made him a long ſpeech, in which he expounded to him the Chriſtian religion, preſſed him to embrace that form of worſhip, and propoſed to him to ſubmit to the king of Spain, to whom the Pope had given Peru.

The emperor, who heard him with a great deal of patience, replied, *I am very willing to be the friend of the king of Spain, but not his vaſſal; the Pope muſt ſurely be a very extraordinary man, to give ſo liberally what does not belong to him. I ſhall not change my religion for another; and if the Chriſtians adore a God who died upon a croſs, I worſhip the ſun, who never dies.* He then aſked Vincent where he had learned all that he had ſaid of God and the creation? *In this book*, replied the monk, preſenting at the ſame time his breviary to the emperor. Atabalipa took the book, examined it on all ſides, fell a-laughing, and, throwing away the breviary, added, *This book tells me nothing of all this.* Vincent then turned towards the Spaniards, crying out with all his might, *Vengeance, my friends, vengeance! Chriſtians, do you not ſee how he deſpiſes the goſpel? Kill theſe dogs, who trample under foot the law of God.*

The Spaniards, who probably had with difficulty reſtrained that fury, and that thirſt of blood, which the ſight of the gold and of the infidels had inſpired them with, inſtantly obeyed the dominican. Let the reader judge of the impreſſion that muſt have been made on the Peruvians by the ſight of the horſes who trampled upon them, and by the noiſe and effect of the cannon and muſketry which beat them down. They fled with ſuch precipitation, that they fell one upon another. A dreadful maſſacre was made of them. Pizarro himſelf advanced towards the emperor, made his infantry put to the ſword all that ſurrounded his throne, took the monarch priſoner, and purſued all the reſt of the day thoſe who had eſcaped the ſword of his ſoldiers. A multitude of princes of the race of the Incas, the miniſters, the flower of the nobility, all that compoſed the court of Atabalipa, were maſſacred. Even the crowd of women, old men, and children, who were come from all parts to ſee their emperor, were not ſpared. While this carnage continued, Vincent ceaſed not to animate the aſſaſſins who were tired with ſlaughter, exhorting them to uſe not the edge but the point of their ſwords, to inflict deeper wounds. When the Spaniards returned from this infamous maſſacre, they paſſed the night in drunkenneſs, dancing, and all the exceſſes of debauchery.

The emperor, though cloſely guarded, ſoon diſcovered the extreme paſſion of his enemies for gold. This circumſtance determined him to offer them for his ranſom as much of this metal as his priſon, which was two-and-twenty feet in length, and ſixteen in breadth, could contain, and to as great a height as the arm of a man could reach. His propoſal was accepted. But while thoſe of his miniſters, in whom he had moſt confidence, were employed in collecting what was neceſſary to enable him to fulfil his engagements, he was informed that Huaſcar had promiſed three times as much to ſome Spaniards who had found an opportunity of converſing with him, if they would conſent to reinſtate him upon the throne of his anceſtors. He was alarmed at this incipient negotiation; and his apprehenſions made him reſolve to ſtrangle a rival who appeared ſo dangerous.

In order to diſſipate the ſuſpicions which ſuch an action muſt neceſſarily excite in his keepers, Atabalipa urged with freſh zeal the collecting of the metals ſtipulated for the recovery of his liberty. They were brought in from all ſides as faſt as the diſtance of the places, and the confuſion that prevailed, would allow. The whole would have been completed in a little time; but theſe heaps of gold, inceſſantly expoſed to the greedy eyes of the conquerors, ſo inflamed their cupidity, that it was impoſſible to delay any longer the diſtribution of them. The fifth part of the whole, which the government had reſerved to itſelf, was delivered to the agents of the treaſury. A hundred thouſand piaſtres, or 540,000 livres [22,500l.], were ſet apart for the body of troops Almagro had juſt brought up, and which were ſtill upon the coaſts. Each of Pizarro's cavalry received 43,200 livres [1800l.], and each of his infantry 21,600 [883l. 6s. 8d.]. The general, and the officers, had ſums proportioned to their rank in the army.

Theſe fortunes, the moſt extraordinary that have ever been recorded in hiſtory, did not mitigate the barbarity of the Spaniards. Atabalipa had given his gold, and his name had ſerved to keep the people in ſubjection: it was now time, therefore, to put an end to him. Vincent ſaid that he was a hardened prince, who ought to be treated like Pharaoh. The interpreter Philippillo, who had a criminal intercourſe with one of his women, might be diſturbed in his pleaſures. Almagro was apprehenſive, that, while he was ſuffered to live, the army of his colleague might be deſirous of appropriating all the booty to itſelf as part of the emperor's ranſom. Pizarro had been deſpiſed by him, becauſe, being leſs informed than the meaneſt of the ſoldiers, he knew not how to read. Theſe circumſtances, even more perhaps than political reaſons, occaſioned the emperor's death to be determined upon.

The Spaniards had the effrontery to bring him to a formal trial; and this atrocious farce was followed with thoſe horrid conſequences that muſt neceſſarily have been expected from it.

After this judicial aſſaſſination, the murderers overran Peru with that thirſt of blood and plunder which directed all their actions. Had they ſhown ſome degree of moderation and humanity, they would probably have made themſelves maſters of this vaſt empire without drawing the ſword. A people naturally mild, accuſtomed for a long time paſt to the moſt blind ſubmiſſion, ever faithful to the maſters it had pleaſed Heaven to give them, and aſtoniſhed at the terrible ſpectacle they had juſt been beholding; ſuch a nation would have ſubmitted to the yoke without much reluctance. The plundering of their houſes and of their temples, the outrages done to their wives and daughters; cruelties of all kinds ſucceeding each other without interruption: ſuch a variety of calamities ſtirred up the people to revenge, and they found commanders to guide their reſentment.

Numerous armies at firſt obtained ſome advantages over a ſmall number of tyrants loſt in theſe immenſe regions; but even theſe trifling ſucceſſes were not durable. Several of the adventurers, who had enriched themſelves by the ranſom of Atabalipa, had quitted their ſtandards, that they might go elſewhere to enjoy, in a more peaceable manner, a property ſo rapidly acquired. Their fortune inflamed the minds of men in the Old and in the New World, and they haſtened from all quarters to this country of gold. The conſequence of this was, that the Spaniards multiplied in a leſs time at Peru than in the other colonies. They ſoon amounted to the number of five or ſix thouſand; and then all reſiſtance was at an end. Thoſe of the Indians who were the moſt attached to their liberty, to their government, and to their religion, took refuge at a diſtance among inacceſſible mountains. Moſt of them ſubmitted to the conqueror.

A revolution ſo remarkable hath been a ſubject of aſtoniſhment to all nations. Peru is a country very difficult of acceſs, where one muſt continually climb mountains, and perpetually march in narrow paſſes and defiles. Troops are there obliged to be inceſſantly paſſing and repaſſing torrents or rivers, the banks of which are always ſteep. Four or five thouſand men, with a moderate ſhare of courage and ſkill, might deſtroy the beſt diſciplined armies. How then could it poſſibly happen that a great nation did not even venture to diſpute a territory, the nature of which was ſo well known to them, againſt a few plunderers, whom the ocean had juſt brought to theſe ſhores?

This event took place for the ſame reaſon that an intrepid robber, with the piſtol in his hand, ſpoils with impunity a body of men, who are either quietly reſting by their fire-ſides, or who, ſhut up in a public carriage, are going along the road without miſtruſt. Though the robber be alone, and though he may have only one or two piſtols to fire, yet he ſtrikes the whole company with awe, becauſe no one chooſes to ſacrifice himſelf for the reſt. Defence implies a mutual agreement, which is the more ſlowly formed, as the danger is leaſt expected, as the ſecurity is more complete, and as it has laſted a longer time. This was exactly the caſe with the Peruvians. They lived without uneaſineſs and without moleſtation for ſeveral centuries. Let us add to theſe conſiderations, that fear is the offſpring of ignorance and aſtoniſhment; that a diſorderly multitude cannot ſtand againſt a ſmall number of diſciplined forces; and that courage unarmed cannot reſiſt cannon-ſhot. Accordingly, Peru muſt neceſſarily have been ſubdued, if even the domeſtic diſſenſions which then ſubverted it had not paved the way for its ſubjection.

Origin, religion, government, manners, and arts of Peru, at the arrival of the Spaniards.

This empire, which, according to the Spaniſh hiſtorians, had flouriſhed for four centuries paſt, had been founded by Manco Capac, and by his wife Mama Ocello, who were called Incas, or Lords of Peru. It has been conjectured that theſe two perſons might be the deſcendants of certain navigators of Europe, or the

Canaries, who had been ſhipwrecked on the coaſts of Brazil.

To ſupport this conjecture, it has been ſaid, that the Peruvians divided the year, as we do, into three hundred and ſixty-five days, and that they had ſome notion of aſtronomy; that they were acquainted with the points of the horizon, where the ſun ſets in the ſummer and winter ſolſtice, and in the equinoxes; marks which the Spaniards deſtroyed, as being monuments of Indian ſuperſtition. It has been aſſerted, that the race of the Incas was whiter than that of the natives of the country, and that ſeveral of the royal family had beards; and it is a known fact, that there are certain features, either ill formed, or regular, that are preſerved in ſome families, though they do not conſtantly paſs from one generation to another. And laſtly, it has been ſaid, that it was a tradition generally diffuſed throughout Peru, and tranſmitted from age to age, that there would one day arrive by ſea men with beards, and of ſuch ſuperiority in arms, that nothing could reſiſt them.

If there ſhould be any of our readers diſpoſed to adopt ſo improbable an opinion, they muſt neceſſarily allow, that there muſt have elapſed a conſiderable ſpace of time between the ſhipwreck and the foundation of the Peruvian empire. If this be not admitted, we cannot explain why the legiſlator ſhould not have given the ſavages, whom he collected together, ſome notions of writing, though he ſhould not himſelf have been able to read? Or why he ſhould not have taught them ſeveral of our arts and methods of doing things, and inſtructed them in certain tenets of his religion? Either it was not an European who founded the throne of the Incas, or we muſt neceſſarily believe, that the veſſel of his anceſtors was wrecked on the coaſt of America, at an era ſo remote, that the ſucceeding generations muſt have forgotten all the cuſtoms of the place from whence they ſprang.

The legiſlators announced themſelves to be children, ſent by their father to make men good and happy. They certainly thought that this prejudice would inflame the minds of the people whom they meant to civilize; would elevate their courage, and inſpire them with greater love for their country, and with more complete ſubmiſſion to the laws.

It was to a ſet of naked and wandering men, without agriculture, without induſtry, without any of thoſe moral ideas that are the firſt ties of ſociety, that their diſcourſes were addreſſed. Some of theſe barbarians, who were imitated by others, aſſembled round the legiſlators in the mountainous country of Cuſco.

Manco taught his new ſubjects to fertilize the earth, to ſow corn and pulſe, to wear clothes, and to provide dwelling-places for themſelves. Ocello ſhowed the Indian women how to ſpin, to weave cotton and wool; and inſtructed them in all the occupations ſuitable to their ſex, and in all the arts of domeſtic economy.

The ſtar of fire, which diſpels the darkneſs that covers the earth, which draws the curtain of the night, and ſuddenly diſplays to the eyes of aſtoniſhed man the moſt extenſive, the moſt auguſt, and the moſt pleaſing of all ſcenes; which is ſaluted at its riſing by the cheerfulneſs of animals, by the melody of birds, and by the hymn of the being that is endowed with the faculty of thinking; which advances majeſtically above all their heads; which, in its progreſs through the regions of the ſky, traverſes an immenſity of ſpace; which, when it ſets, plunges the univerſe again into ſilence and melancholy; which diſtinguiſhes the ſeaſons and the climates; which collects and diſſipates the ſtorms; which lights up the thunder, and extinguiſhes it; which pours upon the fields the rains that fertilize them, and upon the foreſts thoſe that nouriſh them; which animates every thing by its warmth, embelliſhes every thing by its preſence, and the privation of which produces in all parts a ſtate of languor and annihilation: the ſun, in a word, was the god of the Peruvians; and, indeed, what being is there in nature more worthy of the homage of the ignorant man, who is dazzled with its ſplendour, or of the grateful man, on whom its benefits are laviſhed? The worſhip of the ſun was accordingly inſtituted. Temples were built to this deity, and human ſacrifices were aboliſhed. The deſcendants of the legiſlators were the only prieſts of the nation.

The laws pronounced the pain of death againſt murder, theft, and adultery. Few other crimes were treated with the ſame ſeverity. Polygamy was prohibited. No one was allowed to have concubines except the emperor, and that becauſe the race of the ſun could not be too much multiplied. Theſe concubines were ſelected from among the virgins conſecrated to the temple of Cuſco, who were all of his own race.

A moſt wiſe inſtitution enjoined that a young man, who ſhould commit a fault, ſhould be ſlightly puniſhed; but that his father ſhould be reſponſible for him. Thus it was that ſound morals were always inculcated by a good education.

There was no indulgence for idleneſs, which was conſidered, with reaſon, as the ſource of all crimes. Thoſe who, from age and infirmities, were rendered unfit for labour, were maintained at the public charge, but on condition that they ſhould preſerve the cultivated lands from the birds. All the citizens were obliged to make their own clothes, to raiſe their own dwellings, and to fabricate their own inſtruments of agriculture. Every ſeparate family knew how to ſupply its own wants.

The Peruvians were enjoined to love one another, and every circumſtance induced them to it. Thoſe common labours, which were always enlivened by agreeable ſongs; the object itſelf of theſe labours, which was to aſſiſt every one who had occaſion for ſuccour; that apparel that was made by young women devoted to the worſhip of the ſun, and diſtributed by the emperor's officers to the poor, to the aged, and to orphans; that union which muſt neceſſarily reign in the decuries, where every one was mutually inſpired with reſpect for the laws, and with the love of virtue, becauſe the puniſhments that were inflicted for the faults of one individual fell on the whole body; that cuſtom of regarding each other as members of one ſingle family, which was the empire: all theſe circumſtances united, maintained among the Peruvians concord, benevolence, patriotiſm, and a certain public ſpirit; and contributed, as much as poſſible, to ſubſtitute the moſt ſublime and amiable virtues in lieu of perſonal intereſt, of the ſpirit of property, and of the uſual incentives employed by other legiſlators.

Theſe virtues were rewarded with marks of diſtinction, as much as if they had been ſervices rendered to the country. Thoſe who had ſignalized themſelves by an exemplary conduct, or by any diſtinguiſhed actions of advantage to the public good, wore, as a mark of ornament, clothes wrought by the family of the Incas. It is very probable that thoſe ſtatues, which the Spaniards pretended that they found in the temples of the ſun, and which they took for idols, were the ſtatues of men, who, by the greatneſs of their talents, or by a life replete with illuſtrious actions, had merited the homage or love of their fellow-citizens.

Theſe great men were alſo uſually the ſubjects of poems compoſed by the family of the Incas for the inſtruction of the people.

There was another ſpecies of poetry conducive to morality. At Cuſco, and in all the other towns of Peru, tragedies and comedies were performed. The firſt were leſſons of duty to the prieſts, warriors, judges, and perſons of diſtinction, and repreſented to them models of public virtue. Comedies ſerved for inſtruction to perſons of inferior rank, and taught them the exerciſe of private virtues, and even of domeſtic economy.

The whole ſtate was diſtributed into decuries, with an officer that was appointed to ſuperintend ten families that were intruſted to him. A ſuperior officer had the ſame inſpection over fifty families; others over a hundred, five hundred, and a thouſand.

The decurions, and the other ſuperintending officers, up to the ſuperintendant of a thouſand, were obliged to give an account to the latter of all actions whether good or bad, to ſolicit puniſhments and rewards for each, and to give information if there were any want of proviſions, clothes, or corn, for the year. The ſuperintendant of a thouſand made his report to the miniſter of the Inca.

He had ſeldom any cauſe of complaint againſt the part of the nation intruſted to his care. In a country where all the laws were thought to be preſcribed by the ſun, and where the leaſt infringement of them was conſidered as a ſacrilege, theſe tranſgreſſions muſt have been very uncommon. When ſuch a misfortune happened, the guilty perſons went of their own accord to reveal their moſt ſecret faults, and to ſolicit permiſſion to expiate them. Theſe people told the Spaniards that there never had been one man of the family of the Incas who deſerved puniſhment.

The lands of the kingdom, that were ſuſceptible of cultivation, were divided into three parts; one appropriated to the ſun, another to the Inca, and a third to the people. The firſt were cultivated in common, as were likewiſe the lands of orphans, of widows, of old men, of the infirm, and of the ſoldiers who were with the army. Theſe were cultivated immediately after the lands appropriated to the ſun, and before thoſe of the emperor. The ſeaſon of this labour was announced by feſtivals: it was begun and continued with the ſound of muſical inſtruments, and the chanting of hymns.

The emperor levied no tribute; and exacted nothing from his ſubjects, but that they ſhould cultivate his lands; the whole produce of which, being depoſited in public magazines, was ſufficient to defray all the expences of the empire.

The lands dedicated to the ſun provided for the maintenance of the prieſts, the ſupport of the temples, and of every thing that concerned public worſhip. They were partly cultivated by princes of the royal family, clad in their richeſt habits.

With regard to the lands that were in the poſſeſſion of individuals, they were neither hereditary, nor even eſtates for life: the diviſion of them was continually varying, and was regulated with ſtrict equity according to the number of perſons which compoſed every family. There was no other wealth but what aroſe from the produce of the fields, the temporary enjoyment of which was all that was granted by the ſtate.

This cuſtom of moveable poſſeſſions has been univerſally cenſured by men of underſtanding. It has been their general opinion, that a nation would never riſe to any degree of power or greatneſs, but by fixed, and even hereditary property. If it were not for the firſt of theſe, we ſhould ſee on the globe only wandering and naked ſavages, miſerably ſubſiſting on ſuch fruits and vegetables as are the ſole and ſcanty production of rude nature. If it were not for the ſecond, every individual would live only for himſelf; mankind would be deprived of every permanent advantage, which paternal affection, the love of a family name, and the inexpreſſible delight we feel in acting for the good of poſterity, urge us to purſue. The ſyſtem of ſome bold ſpeculators, who have regarded property, and particularly that ſpecies of it which is hereditary, as an uſurpation of ſome members of ſociety over others, is refuted by the fate of all thoſe inſtitutions in which their principles have been reduced to practice. Theſe ſtates have all fallen to ruin, after having languiſhed for ſome time in a ſtate of depopulation and anarchy.

If Peru hath not ſhared the ſame fate, it is probably becauſe the Incas, not knowing the uſe of impoſts, and having only commodities in kind to ſupply the neceſſities of government, muſt have been obliged to ſtudy how to multiply them. They were aſſiſted in the execution of this project by their miniſters, by inferior officers, and by the ſoldiers themſelves, who received nothing but the fruits of the earth for their ſubſiſtence and the ſupport of their rank. Hence aroſe a continual ſolicitude to increaſe theſe productions. This attention might have for its principal object the introduction of plenty into the lands of the ſovereign; but his patrimony was ſo mixed and confounded with that of his ſubjects, that it was not poſſible to fertilize the one without fertilizing the other. The people, encouraged by theſe advantages, which left little ſcope to their induſtry, applied themſelves to labours, which the nature of their ſoil, of their climate, and of their conſumptions, rendered very eaſy. But notwithſtanding all theſe advantages; notwithſtanding the ever active vigilance of the magiſtrate; notwithſtanding the certainty that their harveſts would never be ravaged by a turbulent neighbour; the Peruvians never enjoyed any thing more than the mere neceſſaries of life. We may venture to aſſert, that they would have acquired the means of diverſifying and extending their enjoyments, if their talents had been excited by the introduction of rented, tranſferable, and hereditary property.

The Peruvians, though at the very ſource of gold and ſilver, knew not the uſe of coin. They had not, properly ſpeaking, any kind of commerce; and the more minute arts, which owe their exiſtence to the immediate wants of ſocial life, were in a very imperfect ſtate among them. All their ſcience conſiſted in memory, all their induſtry in example. They learned their religion and their hiſtory by hymns; and their duties and profeſſions by labour and imitation.

Their legiſlation was undoubtedly very imperfect and limited, ſince it ſuppoſed the prince always juſt and infallible, and the magiſtrates poſſeſſed of as much integrity as the prince; ſince not only the monarch, but his deputies, a ſuperintendant of ten, of a hundred, or of a thouſand, might change at pleaſure the deſtination of puniſhments and rewards. Among ſuch a people, deprived of the ineſtimable advantage of writing, the wiſeſt laws, being deſtitute of every principle of ſtability, muſt inſenſibly be corrupted, without there being any method of reſtoring them to their primitive character.

The counterpoiſe of theſe dangers was found in their abſolute ignorance of gold and ſilver coin; an ignorance which, in a Peruvian deſpot, rendered the fatal paſſion of amaſſing riches impoſſible. It was found in the conſtitution of the empire, which had fixed the amount of the ſovereign's revenue, by ſettling the portion of lands that belonged to him. It was found in the extremely ſmall number and moderate nature of the wants of the people, which, being eaſily gratified, rendered them happy and attached to the government. It was found in the influence of their religious opinions, which made the obſervation of the laws a matter of conſcience. Thus was the deſpotiſm of the Incas founded on a mutual confidence between the ſovereign and the people; a confidence which reſulted from the beneficence of the prince, from the conſtant protection he granted to all his ſubjects, and from the evident intereſt they had to continue in obedience to him.

A ſpirit of pyrrhoniſm, which hath ſucceeded to a blind credulity, and hath been ſometimes carried to unjuſtifiable lengths, hath for ſome time endeavoured to raiſe objections to what has been juſt related of the laws, manners, and happineſs of ancient Peru. This account hath appeared to ſome philoſophers as chimerical, and formed only by the naturally romantic imagination of a few Spaniards. But among the deſtroyers of this diſtinguiſhed part of the New World, was there a ſingle ruffian ſufficiently enlightened to invent a fable ſo conſiſtent in all its parts? Was there any one among them humane enough to wiſh to do it, had he even been equal to the taſk? Would he not rather have been reſtrained by the fear of increaſing that hatred, which ſo many cruelties had brought on his country throughout the whole world? Would not the fable have been contradicted by a multitude of witneſſes, who would have ſeen the contrary of what was publiſhed with ſo much pomp? The unanimous teſtimony of cotemporary writers, and of their immediate ſucceſſors, ought to be regarded as the ſtrongeſt hiſtorical demonſtration that can poſſibly be deſired.

Let us therefore no longer conſider, as the offspring of a wild imagination, this account of a ſucceſſion of wiſe ſovereigns, and of a ſeries of generations among mankind exiſting without reproach. Let us rather deplore the fate of theſe people, and not envy them the ſad remembrance of this honour. It is enough to have deprived them of the advantages which they enjoyed, without adding the baſeneſs of calumny to the meanneſs of avarice, the outrages of ambition, and the rage of fanaticiſm. It is to be wiſhed that this beautiful era may be renewed, ſooner or later, in ſome quarter of the globe.

We ſhall not juſtify, with the ſame confidence, thoſe accounts which the conquerors of Peru publiſhed concerning the grandeur and magnificence of the monuments of all kinds that they had found there. The deſire of adding greater luſtre to the glory of their triumphs might poſſibly miſlead them. Perhaps, without being convinced themſelves, they ſtudied to impoſe on their own country and on foreign nations. The firſt teſtimonies, and thoſe even were contradictory, have been invalidated by ſucceeding accounts, and at length totally deſtroyed, when men of enlightened underſtandings had viſited this celebrated part of the New Hemiſphere.

We muſt, therefore, conſider as fabulous the report of that prodigious multitude of towns built with ſo much labour and expence. If there were ſo many ſuperb cities in Peru, why do none exiſt except Cuſco and Quito, beſide thoſe the conqueror built? Whence comes it that we ſcarce find anywhere, except in the valleys of Capillas and of Pachacamac, the ruins of thoſe of which ſuch exaggerated deſcriptions have been publiſhed? The people muſt therefore have been diſperſed over the country; and indeed it was impoſſible it ſhould have been otherwiſe in a region where there were neither tenants, nor artiſts, nor merchants, nor great proprietors, and where tillage was the ſole or the principal occupation of all men.

We muſt conſider as fabulous the account of thoſe majeſtic palaces, deſtined for the accommodation of the Incas, in the place of their reſidence and on their travels. As far as it is poſſible to judge through thoſe heaps of ruins, which have been ſtirred up ſuch an infinite number of times by the hand of avarice, in expectation of finding treaſures among them, the royal manſions had neither majeſty nor ornament. They differed only in extent and thickneſs from the ordinary buildings, which were conſtructed with reeds, with wood, with compacted earth, and with rough ſtones without any cement, according to the nature of the climate, or the vicinity of the materials.

We muſt conſider as fabulous the relation of thoſe fortified places which defended the frontiers of the empire. There were undoubtedly ſome of theſe. The Lower Peru ſtill preſents us with the ruins of two of them ſituated upon mountains, the one conſtructed with earth, the other with the trunks of trees. It is ſuppoſed that they were furniſhed with ditches, and with three walls, one commanding the other. This was ſufficient to contain the conquered people, and to check the incurſions of neighbours that were not very formidable. But theſe means of defence could be of no avail againſt the valour and the arms of the Europeans. Neither were the fortreſſes of the Upper Peru, though built of ſtone, better calculated for this purpoſe. M. de la Condamine, who viſited, with that ſcrupulous attention that diſtinguiſhed him, the fort of Cannar, which is the beſt preſerved, and the moſt conſiderable after that of Cuſco, found it to be of very ſmall extent, and only ten feet high. A people who had nothing but their arms to aſſiſt them in carrying or dragging the moſt bulky materials, and who were ignorant of the uſe of levers and pulleys, could not poſſibly execute any greater deſigns.

We muſt conſider as fabulous the hiſtory of thoſe aqueducts and reſervoirs that are ſaid to have been comparable to the moſt magnificent monuments of the ſame kind tranſmitted to us from the ancients.

BOOK VII.

Neceſſity had taught the Peruvians to dig trenches round the mountains, and upon the ſlopes of hills, and canals and ditches in the valleys, in order to make their lands fruitful which were not fertilized by the rains, and to bring water for their own uſe, when they had never thought of conſtructing wells for this purpoſe; but theſe works of earth or dry ſtone had nothing remarkable in them; nothing that could imply the ſlighteſt knowledge of hydraulics.

We muſt alſo conſider as fabulous the diſplay of thoſe ſuperb roads which rendered communication ſo eaſy. The great roads of Peru were nothing more than two rows of ſtakes diſpoſed in a line, and intended for no other purpoſe but to point out the way to travellers. There was no road of any conſequence, except that which bore the name of the Incas, and which traverſed the whole empire. This, which was the moſt beautiful monument of Peru, was entirely deſtroyed during the civil wars of the conquerors.

We muſt alſo conſider as fabulous what has been ſaid of thoſe bridges which are ſo much boaſted of. How could the Peruvians, who were ignorant of the method of conſtructing arches, and knew not the uſe of lime, raiſe ſtone bridges? It is certain, however, that the traveller was continually ſtopped in his paſſage by a great number of torrents he met with among theſe regions. To overcome this great obſtacle, it was contrived to put together ſeven or eight cables, or even a greater number, made of oſier, to faſten them with other ſmaller cords, to cover them with the branches of trees and with earth; and to fix them ſtrongly to the oppoſite banks. Rivers that were larger and leſs rapid, were croſſed in ſmall ſailing-boats which tacked about with celerity.

We muſt alſo conſider as fabulous, the wonders related of the *quipos*, which were, among the Peruvians, a ſubſtitute to the art of writing that was unknown to them. Theſe were, as it hath been ſaid, regiſters made of cords, in which different kinds of knots and various colours, pointed out the facts, the remembrance of which it was either important or agreeable to preſerve; theſe records were kept by depoſitaries of confidence appointed by public authority. It might perhaps be raſh in us to affirm, that theſe kinds of hieroglyphics, of which we have never had any but obſcure deſcriptions, could not poſſibly throw any light upon paſt events. But, when we obſerve the many errors that inſinuate themſelves into our hiſtories, notwithſtanding the great facility of avoiding them, we ſhall ſcarce be inclined to think, that annals of ſo ſingular a nature as thoſe we have been mentioning, could ever merit much confidence.

The Spaniards do not deſerve more credit, when they tell us of thoſe baths that were made of ſilver and gold, as well as the pipes that ſupplied them; of thoſe gardens full of trees, the flowers of which were of ſilver, and the fruit of gold, and where the eye, being deceived, miſtook art for nature; of thoſe fields of maize, the ſtems of which were of ſilver, and the ears of gold; of thoſe baſſo-relievos, in which the herbs and plants were ſo admirably exhibited, that whoever ſaw was tempted to gather them; of thoſe dreſſes covered over with grains of gold more delicate than the ſeed of pearl, and the workmanſhip of which the ableſt artiſts of Europe could not have equalled. We ſhall not ſay, that theſe works were not worthy to be preſerved, becauſe they never have been. If the Greek ſtatuaries in their compoſitions had only employed precious metals, it is probable that few of the capital productions of Greece could have reached us. But, if we may judge of what hath periſhed by what ſtill remains, we may be certain that the Peruvians had made no progreſs in drawing. The vaſes, which have eſcaped the ravages of time, may ſerve as a ſignal proof of the patience of the Indians; but they will never be conſidered as monuments of their genius. Some figures of animals, and of inſects, in maſſive gold, which were long preſerved in the treaſury of Quito, were not more perfect. We cannot any longer judge of them; for they were melted down in 1740, in order to furniſh ſuccours for Carthagena, that was then beſieged by the Engliſh; and there was not found in all Peru a Spaniard curious enough to purchaſe a ſingle piece at the bare weight.

From what hath been ſaid, it appears clearly, that the Peruvians had made ſcarce any advances in the abſtract ſciences. Moſt of them depend on the progreſs of the arts, and theſe again on accidents which nature produces only in a courſe of ſeveral centuries, and of which the greateſt part are loſt among people who have no intercourſe with enlightened nations.

If we reduce all theſe accounts to the ſimple truth, we ſhall find that the Peruvians had arrived at the art of fuſing gold and ſilver, and of working them. With theſe metals they made ornaments, moſt of which were very thin, for the arms, for the neck, for the noſe, and for the ears; and hollow ſtatues, all of one piece, which, whether they were carved or caſt in a mould, had no greater degree of thickneſs. Vaſes are ſeldom made of theſe rich materials. Their ordinary vaſes were of very fine clay, eaſily wrought, and of the ſize and figure adapted to the purpoſes for which they were deſtined. Weights were not known among them, and ſcales are diſcovered from time to time, the baſons of which are of ſilver, and which are in the ſhape of an inverted cone. Two kinds of ſtone were uſed as looking-glaſſes; the one was ſoft, the other hard; one was entirely opaque, the other had a ſmall degree of tranſparency; one was black, the other of a lead colour: it had been contrived to give them a ſufficient poliſh to reflect objects. Wool, cotton, and the barks of trees, were woven by theſe people into a cloth more or leſs compact, and more or leſs coarſe, which was uſed for wearing-apparel, and of which houſehold furniture was even made. Theſe ſtuffs and cloths were dyed black, blue, and red, by means of the arnotto, by different plants, and by a kind of wild bean that grows in the mountains. Their emeralds were cut in all ſorts of forms. Thoſe that have been often taken out of the tombs, moſt of which are in elevated ſituations, where citzens of diſtinction were buried with whatever they poſſeſſed that was rare, prove that theſe precious ſtones were more perfect here than they have been found to be anywhere elſe. Sometimes, by fortunate chance, pieces of workmanſhip are diſcovered in red and yellow copper, and others which partake of both colours; from whence it hath been concluded, that the Peruvians were acquainted with the art of mixing metals. One more important matter is, that this copper never ruſts, and never collects any verdigriſe; which ſeems to prove, that the Indians mixed ſomething in the preparing of it, which had the property of preſerving it from theſe fatal inconveniences. It is to be regretted that the uſeful art of tempering it in this manner has been loſt, either from want of encouraging the natives of the country, or from the contempt which the conquerors had for every thing that had no concern with their paſſion for riches.

But with what inſtruments were theſe works executed, among a people who were unacquainted with iron, which is looked upon with reaſon as the foundation of all the arts? Nothing has been preſerved in the private houſes, nor hath any thing been diſcovered among the public monuments, or in the tombs, which can give information ſufficient to ſolve this problem. Perhaps the hammers and mallets that were uſed were made of ſome ſubſtance that time may have either deſtroyed or diſfigured. If we will not admit of this conjecture, we muſt conclude, that all the workmanſhip was executed with thoſe hatchets of copper, which alſo ſerved the people for arms in battle. In this caſe, labour, time, and patience, muſt have ſupplied among the Peruvians the deficiency of tools.

It was alſo, perhaps, with hatchets of copper or flint, and by inceſſant friction, that they contrived to cut ſtones, to ſquare them, to make them anſwer to each other; to give them the ſame height, and to join them without cement. Unfortunately theſe inſtruments had not the ſame effect on wood as they had upon ſtone. Thus it happened that the ſame men who ſhaped the granite, and who drilled the emerald, never knew how to join timber by mortiſes, tenons, and pins; it was faſtened to the walls only by ruſhes. The moſt remarkable buildings had only a covering of thatch, ſupported by poles, like the tents of our armies. They had but one floor, and no light except by the entrance, and they conſiſted only of detached apartments, that had no communication with each other.

The ſubjection of Peru is the epocha of the moſt bloody conteſts between its conquerors.

But whatever were the arts which the Spaniards found in the country of Peru, theſe barbarians were no ſooner maſters of this vaſt empire, than they diſputed the ſpoils of it with all the rage which their firſt exploits announced. The ſeeds of theſe diviſions had been ſown by Pizarro himſelf, who, when he went into Europe to prepare for a ſecond expedition into the South Seas, had prevailed upon the miniſtry to give him a great ſuperiority over Almagro. The ſacrifice of what he had obtained from a temporary favour, had contributed to reconcile him with his colleague, who had been juſtly incenſed at this perfidy; but the diviſion of Atabalipa's ranſom irritated again theſe two haughty and rapacious robbers. A diſpute, which aroſe concerning the limits of their reſpective governments, completed their animoſity, and this extreme hatred was attended with the moſt deplorable conſequences.

Civil wars uſually originate in tyranny and anarchy. In a ſtate of anarchy the people divide themſelves into ſmall parties. Each petty faction hath its demagogue; each hath its pretenſions, be they wiſe or extravagant, unanimous or contradictory, without their being known. A number of confuſed clamours ariſe. The firſt ſtroke is followed by a thouſand others; and the people deſtroy each other without liſtening to reaſon. Private intereſts and perſonal animoſities prolong the duration of the public troubles; and men do not come to explanations till after they are tired with carnage. Under the influence of tyranny, there are ſcarce ever more than three parties, that of the court, that of the oppoſition, and that of indifferent perſons: theſe are in-ſeed lukewarm citizens, but ſometimes of great ſervice by their impartiality, and by the ridicule they caſt upon the other two parties. In a ſtate of anarchy, when tranquillity is reſtored, the life of every individual is ſafe; under that of tyranny, tranquillity is followed by the death of ſeveral individuals, or of one only.

Though the intereſts which divided the chiefs of the Spaniards were not of ſuch importance, yet their effects were equally terrible. After ſome negotiations, diſhoneſt at leaſt on one part, and conſequently uſeleſs, recourſe was had to the ſword, in order to determine which of the two competitors ſhould govern the whole of Peru. On the 6th of April 1538, in the plains of Salines, not far from Cuſco, fate decided againſt Almagro, who was taken priſoner and beheaded.

Thoſe of his partiſans who had eſcaped the carnage, would willingly have reconciled themſelves with the conquering party. But whether Pizarro did not chooſe to truſt the ſoldiers of his rival, or whether he could not overcome a reſentment that was too deeply rooted, it is certain that he always ſhowed a remarkable averſion for them. They were not only excluded from all the favours that were profuſely laviſhed upon the acquiſition of a great empire; but they were alſo ſtripped of the rewards formerly granted for their ſervices; they were perſecuted, and expoſed to continual mortifications.

This treatment brought a great number of them to Lima. There, in the houſe of the ſon of their general, they concerted in ſilence the deſtruction of their oppreſſor. Nineteen of the moſt intrepid went out, ſword in hand, on the 26th of June 1541, in the middle of the day, which in hot countries is the time devoted to reſt. They penetrated, without oppoſition, into the palace of Pizarro; and the conqueror of ſo many vaſt kingdoms was quietly maſſacred in the centre of a town that he had founded, and the inhabitants of which were compoſed of his creatures, his ſervants, his relations, his friends, or his ſoldiers.

Thoſe who were judged moſt likely to revenge his death, were murdered after him: the fury of the aſſaſſins ſpread itſelf, and every one who ventured to appear in the ſtreets and in the ſquares was regarded as an enemy, and put to the ſword. Inſtantly the houſes and temples were filled with ſlaughter, and preſented nothing but mangled carcaſes. The ſpirit of avarice, which induced them to conſider the rich merely as partiſans of the old government, was ſtill more furious than that of hatred, and rendered it more active, more ſuſpicious, and more implacable. The repreſentation of a place taken by aſſault by a barbarous nation, would communicate but an imperfect idea of that ſpectacle of horror which theſe ruffians now exhibited, who wreſted from their accomplices the booty of which they had fruſtrated them.

This cruel maſſacre was followed by enormities of another kind. The ſoul of young Almagro ſeems to have been formed for tyranny. Every one who had been in employment under the adverſary of his family was inhumanly proſcribed. The ancient magiſtrates were depoſed. The troops were put under the command of new officers. The royal treaſury, and the wealth of thoſe who periſhed or were abſent, were ſeized upon by the uſurper. His accomplices, attached to his fortune by being partakers of his crimes, were forced to give their ſupport to undertakings which filled them with horror. Thoſe among them who ſuffered their uneaſineſs at theſe proceedings to tranſpire, were either put to death in private, or periſhed on a ſcaffold. During the confuſion, in which a revolution ſo unexpected had plunged Peru, ſeveral provinces ſubmitted to this monſter, who cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed governor in the capital: and he marched into the heart of the empire, to complete the reduction of every place that oppoſed, or heſitated to acknowledge him.

A multitude of ruffians joined him on his march. His army breathed nothing but vengeance and plunder: every thing gave way before it. If the military talents of the general had equalled the ardour of his troops, the war had ended here. Unhappily for Almagro, he had loſt his conductor, John de Herrada. His inexperience made him fall into the ſnares that were laid for him by Pedro Alvares, who had put himſelf at the head of the oppoſite party. He loſt, in attempting to unravel his rival's plots, that time which he ought to have employed in fighting. In theſe circumſtances, an event, which no one could have foreſeen, happened to change the face of affairs.

The licentiate Vaſco di Caſtro, who had been ſent from Europe to try the murderers of old Almagro, arrived at Peru. As he was appointed to aſſume the government in caſe Pizarro was no more, all who had not ſold themſelves to the tyrant, haſtened to acknowledge him. Uncertainty and jealouſy, which had for too long a time kept them diſperſed, were no longer an obſtacle to their re-union. Caſtro, who was as reſolute as if he had grown old in the ſervice, did not ſuffer their impatience to languiſh, but inſtantly led them againſt the enemy. The two armies engaged at Chapas on the 16th of September 1542, and fought with inexpreſſible obſtinacy. Victory, after having wavered a long time, at the cloſe of the day decided in favour of the government party. Thoſe among the rebels who were moſt guilty, dreading to languiſh under diſgraceful tortures, provoked the conquerors to murder them, crying out, like men in deſpair, *It was I who killed Pizarro.* Their chief was taken priſoner, and died on the ſcaffold.

Theſe ſcenes of horror were juſt concluded, when Blaſco Nunnez Vela arrived in 1544 at Peru, with the title and powers of viceroy. The court had thought to inveſt their repreſentative with a ſolemn dignity, and with very extenſive authority, in order that the decrees he was commiſſioned to eſtabliſh, ſhould meet with leſs oppoſition. Theſe decrees were intended to leſſen the oppreſſion under which the Indians were ſunk, and more particularly to render theſe immenſe conqueſts uſeful to the crown: let us examine whether they were judiciouſly contrived for this purpoſe.

They declared that ſome of the Peruvians ſhould be free from that moment, and the reſt at the death of their oppreſſors: that, for the future, they ſhould not be compelled to bury themſelves in the mines; and that no kind of labour ſhould be exacted from them without payment: that their public labours and tributes ſhould be regulated: that the Spaniards who travelled through the provinces on foot, ſhould no longer have three of theſe wretched people to carry their baggage; nor five when they went on horſeback: that the Caciques ſhould be freed from the obligation of providing the traveller and his ſuite with food.

By the ſame regulations, all the departments or commanderies of the governors, of the officers of juſtice, of the agents of the treaſury, of the biſhops, of the monaſteries, of the hoſpitals, and of all perſons who had been concerned in the public troubles, were to be annexed to the domains of the ſtate. The few lands that might belong to other proprietors, were to be ſubject to the ſame law, after the preſent poſſeſſors had ended their days, let their life be long or ſhort; and their heirs, their wives, or their children, were to have no claim upon any part of them.

Before ſo great a revolution had been attempted, would it not have been more proper to have ſoftened the ferocious manners of theſe people, to have gradually bent to the yoke men who had always lived in a ſtate of independence, to have brought back to principles of equity injuſtice itſelf, to have connected to the general intereſt thoſe who had been hitherto influenced by private intereſts only, to have made citizens of adventurers, who had, as it were, forgotten the country from whence they ſprang; to have eſtabliſhed properties where the law of the ſtrongeſt had before univerſally prevailed; to have made order ariſe from the midſt of confuſion; and, by a ſtriking contraſt to the evils which had juſt been occaſioned by anarchy, to have conciliated attachment and reverence to a well-regulated government? But without any of theſe preliminary ſteps, how could the court of Madrid expect ſuddenly to attain the end they propoſed?

Even ſuppoſing the matter public, did they employ a proper agent to effect it? At any rate, it would have been a work of patience, and of a conciliatory diſpoſition which would have required all the talents of the moſt conſummate negotiator. Did Nunnez poſſeſs any of theſe advantages? Nature had only given him integrity, courage, and firmneſs; and he had added nothing to her gifts. With theſe virtues, which were almoſt defects in his ſituation, he began to fulfil his commiſſion, without any regard to place, to perſons, or to circumſtances. To the aſtoniſhment with which the people were at firſt ſeized, ſucceeded indignation, murmurs, and ſedition.

Civil wars aſſume the character that diſtinguiſhes the cauſes from whence they ſpring. When an abhorrence of tyranny, and the natural love of liberty, ſtimulate a brave people to take up arms, if they prove victorious, the tranquillity that follows this tranſitory calamity is an era of the greateſt happineſs. The vigour which hath been excited in the ſoul of every individual, manifeſts itſelf in his manners. The ſmall number of citizens who have been witneſſes and inſtruments of ſuch troubles, poſſeſs more moral ſtrength than the moſt populous nations. Abilities and power are united; and every man is aſtoniſhed to find that he occupies that very place which nature had marked out for him.

But when diſſenſions proceed from a corrupt ſource; when ſlaves fight about the choice of a tyrant; when the ambitious contend, in order to oppreſs, and robbers quarrel for the ſake of ſpoil; the peace which terminates theſe horrors is ſcarcely preferable to the war which gave them birth. Criminals aſſume the place of the judges who had diſgraced them, and become the oracles of thoſe laws which they had inſulted. Men ruined by their extravagances and debaucheries, inſult, with an overbearing pomp, thoſe virtuous citizens whoſe patrimony they have invaded. In this ſtate of utter confuſion, the paſſions only are attended to. Avarice ſeeks to grow rich without any trouble, vengeance to gratify its reſentments without fear, licentiouſneſs to throw off every reſtraint, and diſcontent to occaſion a total ſubverſion of affairs. The frenzy of carnage is ſucceeded by that of debauchery. The ſacred bed of innocence or of marriage is polluted with blood, adultery, and brutal violence. The fury of the multitude rejoices in deſtroying every thing it cannot enjoy; and thus, in a few hours, periſh the monuments of many centuries.

If fatigue, an entire laſſitude, or ſome fortunate accidents, ſuſpend theſe calamities, the habit of wickedneſs and murder, and the contempt of laws, which neceſſarily ſubſiſts after ſo much confuſion, is a leaven ever ready to ferment. Generals who no longer have any command, licentious ſoldiers without pay, and the people, fond of novelty, in hopes of changing their ſtate for a better; this ſituation of things, and theſe means of confuſion, are always in readineſs for the firſt factious perſon who knows how to avail himſelf of them.

Such was the diſpoſition of the Spaniards in Peru, when Nunnez attempted to carry into execution the orders he had received from the old hemiſphere. He was immediately degraded, put in irons, and baniſhed to a deſert iſland, where he was to remain till he was conveyed to the mother-country.

Gonzales Pizarro was then returned from a hazardous expedition, which had carried him as far as the river of the Amazons, and had employed him long enough to prevent him from taking a part in thoſe revolutions which had ſo rapidly ſucceeded each other. The anarchy he found prevailing at his return, inſpired him with the idea of ſeizing the ſupreme authority. His fame and his forces made it impoſſible that this ſhould be refuſed him; but his uſurpation was marked with ſo many enormities, that Nunnez was regretted. He was recalled from exile, and ſoon collected a ſufficient number of forces to enable him to take the field.

Civil commotions were then renewed with extreme fury by both parties. No quarter was aſked or given on either ſide. The Indians were forced to take part in this, as they had done in the preceding wars; ſome ranged themſelves under the ſtandard of the viceroy, others under the banners of Gonzales. They dragged up the artillery, levelled the roads, and carried the baggage. After a variety of advantages for a long time alternately obtained, fortune at length favoured the rebellion under the walls of Quito, in the month of January in the year 1545. Nunnez, and the greateſt part of his men, were maſſacred on that day.

Pizarro took the road of Lima, where they were deliberating on the ceremonies with which they ſhould receive him. Some officers wiſhed that a canopy ſhould be carried for him to march under, after the manner of kings. Others, with adulation ſtill more extravagant, pretended that part of the walls of the town, and even ſome houſes, muſt be pulled down; as was the cuſtom at Rome, when a general obtained the honours of a triumph. Gonzales contented himſelf with making his entrance on horſeback, preceded by his lieutenants, who marched on foot. Four biſhops accompanied him; and he was followed by the magiſtrates. The ſtreets were ſtrewn with flowers, and the air reſounded with the noiſe of bells and various muſical inſtruments. This homage totally turned the head of a man naturally haughty, and of confined ideas. He ſpoke and acted in the moſt deſpotic manner.

Had Gonzales poſſeſſed judgment, and the appearance of moderation, it would have been poſſible for him to render himſelf independent. The principal perſons of his party wiſhed it. The majority would have viewed this event with indifference, and the reſt would have been obliged to conſent to it. Blind cruelties, inſatiable avarice, and unbounded pride, altered theſe diſpoſitions. Even the perſons whoſe intereſts were more connected with thoſe of the tyrant, wiſhed for a deliverer.

An aged prieſt at length puts an end to the effuſion of Spaniſh blood.

Such a deliverer arrived from Europe in the perſon of Pedro de la Gaſca. He was a prieſt advanced in years, but prudent, diſintereſted, firm, and eſpecially endowed with an acute diſcernment. He brought no troops along with him; but he had been intruſted with unlimited powers. The firſt uſe he allowed himſelf to make of them, was, to publiſh a general amneſty without diſtinction of perſons or crimes, and to revoke the ſevere laws that had rendered the preceding adminiſtration odious. This ſtep alone ſecured to him the fleet, and the mountainous provinces. If Pizarro, to whom the amneſty had been particularly offered with every teſtimony of diſtinction, had accepted of it, as he was adviſed to do by the moſt enlightened of his partiſans, the troubles would have been at an end. The habit of commanding would not ſuffer him to deſcend to a private ſtation; and he had recourſe to arms, in hopes of perpetuating his memory. Without loſing a moment, he advanced towards Cuſco, where La Gaſca was aſſembling his forces. On the 9th of April 1548, the battle was begun at the diſtance of four leagues from this place, in the plains of Saeſahuana. One of the rebel general's lieutenants, ſeeing him abandoned at the firſt charge by his beſt ſoldiers, adviſed him, but in vain, to throw himſelf into the enemy's battalions, and periſh like a Roman; but this weak head of a party choſe rather to ſurrender, and end his life on a ſcaffold. Nine or ten of his officers were hanged round him. A more diſgraceful ſentence was pronounced againſt Carvajal.

This confidant of Pizarro, who, in all the accounts, is accuſed of having maſſacred with his own hand four hundred men, of having ſacrificed, by means of his agents, more than a thouſand Spaniards, and of having deſtroyed more than twenty thouſand Indians through exceſs of labour, was one of the moſt aſtoniſhing men ever recorded in hiſtory. At a time when the minds of all men were elevated, he diſplayed a degree of courage which could never admit of a compariſon. He remained always faithful to the cauſe he had engaged in, although the cuſtom of changing ſtandards according to circumſtances was then univerſally prevalent. He never forgot the moſt trifling ſervice that had been rendered him; while thoſe who had once conferred an obligation upon him, might afterwards affront him with impunity. His cruelty was become a proverb; and in the moſt horrid executions he ordered, he never loſt any thing of his mirth. Strongly addicted to raillery, he was appeaſed with a jeſt; while he inſulted the cry of pain, which appeared to him the exclamation of cowardice or weakneſs. His iron heart made a ſport of every thing. He took away or preſerved life for a nothing, becauſe life was a nothing in his eſtimation. His paſſion for wine did not prevent the uncommon ſtrength of his body, and the dreadful vigour of his ſoul, from maintaining themſelves to the moſt advanced time of life. In extreme old age, he was ſtill the firſt ſoldier, and the firſt commander in the army. His death was conformable to his life. At the age of eighty-four, he was quartered, without ſhowing any remorſe for what was paſt, or any uneaſineſs for the future.

Such was the laſt ſcene of a tragedy, every act of which hath been marked with blood. Civil wars have always been cruel in all countries and in all ages; but at Peru they were deſtined to have a peculiar character of ferocity. Thoſe who excited them, and thoſe who engaged in them, were moſt of them adventurers without education, and of mean birth. Avarice, which had brought them into the New World, was joined to other paſſions which render domeſtic diſſenſions ſo laſting and ſo violent. All of them, without exception, conſidered the chief whom they had choſen merely as a partner in their fortune, whoſe influence was only to extend to the guidance of their hoſtilities. None of them accepted any pay. As plunder and confiſcation were to be the fruits of victory, no quarter was ever given in action. After the engagement was over, every rich man was expoſed to informations; and there were nearly as many citizens who periſhed by the hands of the executioner, as by thoſe of the ſoldiers in battle. The gold that had been acquired by ſuch enormities, was ſoon exhauſted by the meaneſt kind of intemperance, and the moſt extravagant luxury; and the people returned again to all the exceſſes of military licence that knows no reſtraint.

Fortunately for this opulent part of the New Hemiſphere, the moſt ſeditious of the conquerors, and of thoſe who followed their ſteps, had periſhed miſerably in the ſeveral events that had ſo frequently ſubverted it. Few of them had ſurvived the troubles, except thoſe who had conſtantly preferred peaceable occupations to the tumult and dangers of great revolutions. What ſtill remained of that commotion that had been raiſed in their minds, inſenſibly ſank into a calm, like the agitation of waves after a long and furious tempeſt. Then, and then only, the Catholic kings might with truth ſtyle themſelves the ſovereigns of the Spaniards fixed in Peru. But there was one Inca ſtill remaining.

This legitimate heir of ſo many vaſt dominions, lived in the midſt of the mountains in a ſtate of independence. Some princeſſes of his family, who had ſubmitted to the conquerors, abuſed his inexperience and youth, and prevailed upon him to come to Lima. The uſurpers of his rights carried their inſolence ſo far as to ſend him letters of grace, and aſſigned to him only a very moderate domain for his ſubſiſtence. He went to hide his ſhame and his regret in the valley of Yucay, where, at the expiration of three years, death, though ſtill too tardy, put an end to his unfortunate career. An only daughter, who ſurvived him, married Loyola; and from this union are ſprung the houſes of Oropeſa and Alcannizas. Thus was the conqueſt of Peru completed towards the year 1560.

When the Caſtilians had firſt made their appearance in this empire, it had an extent of more than fifteen thouſand miles of coaſt upon the South Sea; and in its depth, it was bounded only by the higheſt of the Cordeleirias mountains. In leſs than half a century, theſe turbulent men puſhed on their conqueſts eaſtward from Panama to the river Plata, and weſtward from the Chagre to the Oroonoko. Although the new acquiſitions were moſt of them ſeparated from Peru by terrible deſerts, or by people who obſtinately defended their liberty, yet they were all incorporated with it, and ſubmitted to the ſame law, even down to theſe latter times. Let us take a review of thoſe which have preſerved or acquired ſome degree of importance; and we ſhall begin with the Darien.

Notions concerning the province of Darien. Inquiry whether that country be of importance enough to excite diviſions among the nations?

This narrow ſlip of land, which joins South and North America together, is fortified by a chain of high mountains, ſufficiently ſolid to reſiſt the attacks of the two oppoſite ſeas. The country is ſo barren, ſo rainy, ſo unwholeſome, and ſo full of inſects, that the Spaniards, in all probability, would never have thought of ſixing there, had they not found at Porto-Bello, and at Panama, harbours well calculated for eſtabliſhing an eaſy communication between the Atlantic and the Southern Ocean. The reſt of the iſthmus had ſo little attraction for them, that the ſettlements of Saint Mary and of Nombre de Dios, which had at firſt been formed there, were ſoon annihilated.

This neglect determined, in 1698, twelve hundred Scotch to go there. The Company, united for this enterpriſe, intended to gain the confidence of the few ſavages whom the ſword had not deſtroyed; to arm them againſt a people whoſe ferocity they had experienced; to work the mines, which were thought more valuable than they are; to intercept the galleons by cruiſes ſkilfully conducted; and to unite their forces with thoſe of Jamaica, with ſufficient management to quire the ſway in this part of the New World.

A project ſo alarming diſpleaſed the court of Madrid, which ſeemed determined to confiſcate the effects of all the Engliſh, who traded with ſo much advantage in their dominions. It diſpleaſed Louis XIV. who offered to a power already too much exhauſted, a fleet ſufficient to fruſtrate the deſign: it diſpleaſed the Dutch, who were afraid that this new company would one day divide with them the ſmuggling trade which they monopolized in theſe latitudes: it was even diſpleaſing to the Britiſh miniſtry, who foreſaw that Scotland, growing rich, would wiſh to emerge from that kind of dependence to which its poverty had hitherto reduced it. This violent and univerſal oppoſition determined king William to revoke a permiſſion which his favourites had extorted from him. It then became neceſſary to evacuate the golden iſland upon which this colony had been placed.

But the mere apprehenſion the Spaniards had felt of having ſuch a neighbour, determined them to pay more attention themſelves to a country which they had always hitherto diſdained. Their miſſionaries ſucceeded in forming nine or ten villages, each of which contained from one hundred and fifty to two hundred ſavages. Whether from the unſettled diſpoſition of the Indians, or from the oppreſſion of their guides, theſe riſing ſettlements began to fall off in 1716; and in our days, there are no more than three of them remaining, defended by four ſmall forts and by a hundred ſoldiers.

Extent, climate, ſoil, fortifications, harbour, population, manners, and trade of Carthagena.

The province of Carthagena is bordered on the Weſt by the river Darien, and on the Eaſt by that of Magdalena. The extent of its coaſt is fifty-three leagues, and of the inland countries eighty-five. The arid and extremely high mountains that occupy the greateſt part of this vaſt ſpace, are ſeparated by large valleys, well watered and fertile. The dampneſs and exceſſive heat of the climate prevent, indeed, the corn, the oils, the wines, and the fruits of Europe from thriving there: but rice, caſſava, maize, cacao, ſugar, and all the productions peculiar to America, are very common. But cotton is the only article cultivated for exportation; and even the wool of this is ſo long, and ſo difficult in working, that it is only ſold for the loweſt price in our markets, and is rejected by moſt of the manufactures.

Baſtidas was the firſt European, who, in 1502, appeared in theſe unknown latitudes. La Coſa, Guerra, Ojeda, Veſputius, and Oviedo, landed there after him: but the people whom theſe plunderers meant to enſlave oppoſed them with ſuch firmneſs, that they were obliged to give up all thoughts of forming a ſettlement there. At length Pedro de Heridia appeared in 1527, with a force ſufficient to reduce them. He built and peopled Carthagena.

In 1544, ſome French pirates pillaged the new town. Forty-one years after, it was burnt by the celebrated Drake. Pointis, one of the admirals of Louis XIV. took it in 1697; but, by his cruel rapacity, he diſgraced the arms which his ambitious maſter wiſhed to render illuſtrious. The Engliſh were diſgracefully obliged, in 1741, to raiſe the ſiege of it, though they had undertaken it with twenty-five ſhips of the line, ſix fire-ſhips, two bomb-ketches, and as many land forces as were ſufficient to conquer a great part of America. The miſunderſtanding between Vernon and Wentworth; the cabals which divided the army and the fleet; a want of experience in moſt of the commanders, and of ſubordination in the ſubalterns: all theſe cauſes united to deprive the nation of the glory and advantage it had flattered itſelf with, from one of the moſt brilliant armaments that had ever been diſpatched from the Britiſh ports.

After ſo many revolutions, Carthagena now ſubſiſts in ſplendour in a peninſula of ſand, which is joined to the continent only by two narrow necks of land, the broadeſt of which is not thirty-five toiſes. Its fortifications are regular. Nature has placed, at a little diſtance, a hill of a tolerable height, on which the citadel of St. Lazarus hath been built. Theſe works are defended by a garriſon, more or leſs numerous, as circumſtances require. The town is one of the beſt built, the moſt regular, and beſt diſpoſed, of any in the New World. It may contain twenty-five thouſand ſouls. Of this number the Spaniards form the ſixth part; the Indians, the Negroes, and ſeveral races compoſed of mixtures of an infinite variety, make up the remainder.

Theſe mixtures are more common at Carthagena than in moſt of the other Spaniſh colonies. A multitude of vagabonds without employment, without fortune, and without recommendations, are continually reſorting to this place. In a country where they are totally unknown, no citizen can venture to repoſe any confidence in their ſervices; they are deſtined to ſubſiſt wretchedly on the alms of the convents, and to lie in the corner of a ſquare, or under the portico of ſome church. If the afflictions they experience in this miſerable ſtate ſhould bring ſome violent diſeaſe upon them, they are commonly aſſiſted by the free negro women, whoſe care and kindneſs they requite by marrying them. Thoſe who have not the happineſs of being in a ſituation dreadful enough to excite the compaſſion of the women, are obliged to take refuge in the country, and to devote themſelves to fatiguing labours, which a certain national pride, and ancient cuſtoms, render equally inſupportable. Indolence is carried ſo far in this country, that men and women who are wealthy ſeldom quit their hammocks, and that but for a little time.

The climate muſt be one of the principal cauſes of this inactivity. The heat is exceſſive, and almoſt continual, at Carthagena. The torrents of water, which are inceſſantly pouring down from the month of May to November, have this peculiarity, that they never cool the air, which, however, is ſometimes a little tempered by the north-eaſt winds in the dry ſeaſon. The night is as hot as the day. An habitual perſpiration gives the inhabitants the pale and livid colour of ſickly perſons. Even when they are in perfect health, their motions partake of the ſoftneſs of the climate. which evidently relaxes their fibres. This indolence manifeſts itſelf even in their words, which are always uttered ſlowly, and with a low voice. Thoſe who come hither from Europe preſerve their freſh complexions and plumpneſs three or four months; but they afterwards loſe both.

This decay is the forerunner of an evil ſtill more dreadful, but the nature of which is little known. It is conjectured that ſome perſons are affected with it from catching cold, others from indigeſtion. It manifeſts itſelf by vomitings, accompanied with ſo violent a delirium, that the patient muſt be confined, to prevent him from tearing himſelf to pieces. He often expires in the midſt of theſe agitations, which ſeldom laſt above three or four days. A lemonade made of the juice of the opuntium, or Indian fig, is, according to Godin, the beſt ſpecific that has been found againſt ſo fatal a diſeaſe. Thoſe who have eſcaped this danger at firſt, run no riſk for the future. We are aſſured from the teſtimony of men of underſtanding, that, even upon their return to Carthagena, after a long abſence, they have nothing to fear.

The town and its territory exhibit the ſpectacle of a hideous leproſy, which indiſcriminately attacks both the inhabitants and ſtrangers. The philoſophers who have attempted to aſcribe this calamity to the eating of pork, have not conſidered that nothing of a ſimilar kind is ſeen in the other parts of the New World, where this kind of food is not leſs common. To prevent the progreſs of this diſtemper, an hoſpital has been founded in the country. Perſons who are ſuppoſed to be attacked with it, are ſhut up here, without diſtinction of ſex, rank, or age. The benefit of ſo wiſe an eſtabliſhment is loſt through the avarice of the governors, who, without being deterred by the danger of ſpreading the diſeaſe, ſuffer the poor to go in and out to beg. Thus it is that the number of the ſick is ſo great, that the encloſure of the dwelling is of an immenſe extent. Every one there enjoys a little ſpot of ground that is marked out for him on his admiſſion. There he builds an abode ſuitable to his fortune, where he lives in tranquillity to the end of his days, which are often long, though unhappy. This diſorder ſo powerfully excites that paſſion which is the ſtrongeſt of all others, that it has been judged neceſſary to permit marriage to ſuch as are afflicted with it. This is, perhaps, increaſing the paſſion, by increaſing the means of ſatisfying it. Theſe deſires appear to be irritated by the very gratification of them; they increaſe by their very remedies, and are reproduced by each other. The inconvenience of beholding this ardent diſeaſe, which infects the blood, perpetuated in the children, hath given way to the dread of other diſorders, that are, perhaps, chimerical.

Let us be allowed to form a conjecture. There [illegible] ſome people in Africa that are ſituated nearly under the ſame latitude, who have a cuſtom of rubbing the body with an oil that is expreſſed from the fruit of a tree reſembling the palm. This oil is of a diſagreeable ſmell: but beſide the property it has of keeping off inſects which are very troubleſome under this burning ſky, it ſerves to make the ſkin pliable, and to preſerve, or reſtore to that organ ſo eſſential to life, the free exerciſe of the office for which nature has deſigned it; it alſo quiets the irritation which dryneſs and aridity muſt bring on upon the ſkin, which then becomes ſo hard, that all kind of perſpiration is intercepted. If a ſimilar method were tried at Carthagena, and if the cleanlineſs which the climate requires were added to it, perhaps this leproſy might be reſtrained, or even totally aboliſhed.

Notwithſtanding this diſguſting diſtemper, the various defects of an inconvenient and dangerous climate, and many other diſagreeable circumſtances, Spain hath always ſhown a great predilection for Carthagena, on account of its harbour, one of the beſt that is known. It is two leagues in extent, and hath a deep and excellent bottom. There is not more agitation there than on the moſt calm river. There are two channels that lead up to it. That which is called Bocca Grande, and which is from ſeven to eight hundred toiſes in breadth, had formerly ſo little depth, that the ſmalleſt canoe could with difficulty paſs through it. The ocean hath gradually increaſed its depth ſo much, that in ſome parts twelve feet of water may be found. If the revolutions of time ſhould bring about greater alterations, the place would be expoſed. Accordingly, the attention of the court of Madrid is ſeriouſly engaged in conſidering the means of preventing ſo great an evil. Perhaps, after much reflection, no ſimpler or more certain expedient will be found, than to oppoſe to the enemy's fleets a dyke formed of old ſhips filled with ſtones and ſunk in the ſea. The channel of Bocca Chica hath been hitherto the only one practicable. This is ſo narrow, that only one veſſel can enter at once. The Engliſh, in 1741, having deſtroyed the fortifications that defended this paſſage, they have been ſince reſtored with greater ſkill. They were no longer placed at the entrance of the gullet, but further up the channel, where they will ſecure a better defence.

At the time that theſe countries were ſupplied with proviſions, by the well known method of the galleons, the veſſels which ſet out from Spain all together, ſailed to Carthagena before they went to Porto Bello, and viſited it again on their return to Europe. In the firſt voyage, they depoſited the merchandiſe that was neceſſary for the ſupply of the interior provinces, and received the price of them in the ſecond. When ſingle ſhips were ſubſtituted to theſe monſtrous armaments, the city ſerved for the ſame kind of ſtaple. It was always the point of communication between the Old Hemiſphere and great part of the New. From the year 1748 to 1753, this ſtaple was only viſited with twenty-ſeven ſhips from Spain: theſe, in exchange for the merchandiſe they had brought, received every year 9,357,806 livres [389,908l. 11s. 8d.] in gold, 4,729,498 livres [197,072l. 8s. 4d.] in ſilver, and 851,765 livres [35,490l. 14s. 2d.] in the produce of the country; in all, 14,939,069 livres [622,461l. 13s. 4d.].

The article of the produce of the country was compoſed of four thouſand eight hundred and fourſcore quintals of cacao, the value of which in Europe was 509,760 livres [21,240l. 10s.]; of five hundred and eighty quintals of bark, of the value of 200,880 livres [8370l.]; of ſeventeen quintals of vicuna wool, of the value of 12,474 livres [519l. 15s.]; of one quintal and a half of vanilla, of the value of 11,988 livres [499l. 10s.]; of ſeven quintals of tortoiſe ſhell, of the value of 4698 livres [195l. 15s.]; of fifteen quintals of mother-of-pearl, of the value of 1701 livres [71l. 7s. 6d.]; of ſixteen quintals of balſam, of the value of 18,900 livres [787l. 10s.]; of two thouſand and thirty quintals of a ſpecies of Braſil wood, of the value of 29,295 livres [1220l. 12s. 6d.]; of two thouſand one hundred ſkins, with the hair on, of the value of 34,020 livres [1417l. 10s.]; of forty-two quintals of dragon's blood, of the value of 2389 livres [99l. 10s. 10d.]; of ſix quintals of balſam of capivi, of the value of 2700 livres [113l.]; of ſeven quintals of ſarſaparilla, of the value of 972 livres [40l. 9s.]; of one quintal of ivory, of the value of 388 livres [16l. 3s. 4d.]; and laſtly, of one hundred and eighty-eight quintals of cotton, of the value of 21,600 livres [900l. 10s.].

In theſe returns, where there was nothing for government, and where all was for trade, the territory of Carthagena furniſhed only to the amount of 93,241 livres [3885l. 10d.]. That of Saint Martha was ſtill leſs profitable.

Cauſes of the oblivion into which the province of Saint Martha is fallen.

This province, the extent of which, from eaſt to weſt, is eighty leagues, and one hundred and thirty from north to ſouth, was unfortunately diſcovered, as were all the neighbouring regions, at the diſaſtrous period when the kings of Spain, ſolely intent upon their aggrandizement in Europe, required only from thoſe of their ſubjects, who went into the New World, the fifth part of the gold which they collected in their plunders. Upon this condition, theſe robbers, who were ſtimulated by the love of novelty, by an inordinate paſſion for wealth, and even by the hopes of meriting heaven, were left to be the ſole arbiters of their actions. Without dread of puniſhment or of cenſure, they might wander about from one country to another, preſerve or abandon a conqueſt, improve a territory, or deſtroy it, and maſſacre the people, or treat them with humanity, as they thought proper. Every thing ſuited the court of Madrid; provided they were ſupplied with plenty of riches, the ſource from which they came always appeared honeſt and pure.

Ravages and cruelties, that cannot be expreſſed, were the neceſſary conſequence of theſe abominable principles; and univerſal deſolation prevailed. The fatal veſtiges of it are ſtill to be traced in all parts, but more eſpecially at Saint Martha. After theſe deſtroyers had ſpoiled the colonies of the gold which they had picked up in their rivers, and of the pearls which they had fiſhed upon their coaſts, they diſappeared. The few among them who ſettled themſelves there, raiſed one or two towns, and ſome villages, which remained without intercourſe with each other, till it was opened by ſome indefatigable Capuchin miſſionaries, who, in our days, have contrived to collect, in eight hamlets, three thouſand one hundred and ninety-one Motilones, or Evagiras, the moſt ferocious of the ſavages who oppoſed it. Here their deſpicable poſterity vegetates, fed and waited upon by ſome Indians or Negroes. The mother-country hath never ſent one ſingle veſſel into this diſtrict, and hath never received any kind of production from it. The induſtry and activity of this place conſiſts only in a fraudulent trade of cattle, and eſpecially mules, carried on with the Dutch, or with the other cultivators of the neighbouring iſlands, who give in exchange clothing, and ſome other objects of little value. Superſtition keeps up this fatal indolence. It prevents the people from diſcerning that it is not by ceremonies, by flagellations, or by *autos da fé*, that the divinity is to be honoured; but by the ſweat of man's brow, by the clearing of land, and by uſeful labours. Theſe proud men perſuade themſelves that they are greater in a church, or at the feet of a monk, than in the fields or the workſhop. The tyranny of their prieſts hath kept away from them that knowledge which might have undeceived them. Even this work, written purpoſely to enlighten them, they will never be acquainted with. If ſome fortunate event ſhould put it into their hands, they would have an abhorrence of it, and would conſider it as a criminal production, the author of which would deſerve to be burnt.

First events that happened at Venezuela.

Alphonſo Ojeda was the firſt who reconnoitred, in 1499, the country called Venezuela, or Little Venice, a name that was given to it, becauſe ſome huts were ſeen there, fixed upon ſtakes, to raiſe them above the ſtagnant waters that covered the plain. Neither this adventurer, nor his immediate ſucceſſors, thought of forming any ſettlements there. Their ambition was only to make ſlaves, that they might convey them to the iſlands which their ferocity had depopulated. It was not till 1527 that John d'Ampuez fixed a colony upon this coaſt, and promiſed to his court a region abounding in metals. This promiſe gave riſe, in the following year, to an arrangement ſingular enough to attract our attention.

Charles V. who had united ſuch a number of crowns upon his head, and concentrated ſo much power in himſelf, was engaged, by his ambition, or by the jealouſy of his neighbours, in endleſs diſputes, the expences of which exceeded his reſources. In his neceſſities, he had borrowed conſiderable ſums of the Welſers of Augſbourg, who were then the richeſt merchants in Europe. That prince offered them in payment the province of Venezuela, and they accepted it as a fief of Caſtile.

It was to be ſuppoſed that merchants, who had acquired their fortune by the buying and ſelling of territorial productions, would eſtabliſh plantations in their domains. It was to be ſuppoſed that Germans, who had been brought up in the midſt of mines, would work thoſe which were upon the ſpot that was granted to them. But theſe expectations were entirely fruſtrated. The Welſers only ſent into the New World four or five hundred of thoſe fierce ſoldiers, whom their country began to ſell to whoever would and could pay for their blood. Theſe baſe hirelings carried along with them beyond the ſeas that propenſity for pillaging which they had contracted in the different wars in which they had ſerved. Under the guidance of their chiefs, Alfinger and Sailler, they overran an immenſe tract of country, putting the ſavages to the torture, and ripping them open, to extort from them where the gold was to be found. Some Indians, dragged along, and laden with proviſions, who were put to death as ſoon as they ſank under the laſſitude, followed this ſavage band. Hunger, fatigue, and poiſoned arrows, fortunately delivered the earth of this odious burden. The Spaniards reſumed poſſeſſion of a ſoil which the Welſers would no longer have any concern with; and their conduct was not very different from that which had juſt excited ſo much horror. Their commander Carvajal, indeed, forfeited his life for theſe enormities: but this puniſhment did not recal from the grave the victims that had been precipitated into it. From their aſhes aroſe, in proceſs of time, a few productions, of which the cacao was the principal.

The cacao hath always fixed the attention of the Spaniards upon Venezuela.

The cacao tree, which is of a middling ſize, generally throws out five or ſix trunks from its root. The wood of it is brittle and white; its root reddiſh, and rather rugged. As it grows up it throws off ſome inclined branches, which do not ſpread far. Its leaves are alternate, oval, and terminated in a point. The largeſt of them are from eight to nine feet in length, and three in breadth. They are all fixed upon ſhort petals, flattened, and furniſhed at their baſis with two membranes or ſtipulæ. The flowers ariſe in ſmall bunches along the ſtems and the branches. Their calix is greeniſh, and hath five deep diviſions. The five petals that compoſe the corolla are ſmall, yellow, inflated at their baſe, lengthened out into a kind of ſtrap, which is folded up in a circular form, and widened at its extremity. Theſe petals are fixed to a ſpatha, formed by the aſſemblage of ten threads, five of which bear ſtamina. The five other intermediate ones are longer, and in the ſhape of a tongue. The piſtil, which is placed in the centre, and ſurmounted with one ſtyle only, becomes an oviform capſula, almoſt of a ligneous texture, ſix or ſeven inches in length, and two in breadth; uneven upon its ſurface, marked with ten coſtæ, and ſeparated internally by membranous partitions into five cells. The kernels which it contains, to the number of thirty, or more, are covered with a brittle ſhell, and ſurrounded with a whitiſh pulp.

Theſe kernels are the baſis of the chocolate, the goodneſs of which depends upon the oily part they contain, and conſequently upon their perfect maturity. The capſula is gathered, when, after having changed ſucceſſively from green to yellow, it acquires a dark muſk colour. It is ſlit with a knife, and all the kernels, ſurrounded with their pulp, are taken out and heaped up in a tub, in order that they may ferment. This operation deſtroys the principle of vegetation, and removes the ſuperfluous moiſture from the kernels, which are afterwards expoſed to the ſun upon hurdles, in order to complete the drying of them. The cacao, thus prepared, keeps for a conſiderable time, provided it be in a dry place; but it is not proper to keep it too long, becauſe it loſes, with age, part of its oil and of its properties.

The cacao tree grows readily, from ſeeds that are ſown in holes ranged in a ſtraight line, and at the diſtance of five or ſix feet from each other. Theſe ſeeds, which muſt be freſh, ſoon vegetate. The tree grows up tolerably faſt, and begins to reward the labours of the cultivator at the end of two years. Two crops are gathered every year, which are equal in quality and quantity. This tree requires a rich and moiſt ſoil, which hath not been employed for any other kind of culture. If it ſhould want water, it would produce no fruit, wither, and die. A ſhade, to ſhelter it continually from the heat of the ſun, is not leſs neceſſary to it. The fields in which the cacao trees are planted, are alſo liable to be deſtroyed by the hurricanes, unleſs care be taken to ſkirt them with ſtronger trees. The culture which the tree further requires is neither laborious nor expenſive. It is ſufficient to pull up the weeds that grow round it, and which would deprive it of its nouriſhment.

The cacao tree is cultivated in ſeveral parts of the New World; in ſome of them it even grows naturally. Nevertheleſs, its fruit is nowhere ſo plentiful as at Venezuela; and nowhere of ſo good a quality, if we except Soconuſco.

But for the ſpace of two centuries, the labours of the colony did not turn out to the profit of the mother-country. The national trade was ſo much overburdened with taxes, and ſo much embarraſſed with formalities, that the province found a conſiderable advantage in receiving from the hands of the Dutch of Curaçoa all the merchandiſe they wanted, and in giving them for payment the produce of their ſoil, which theſe indefatigable neighbours ſold for an immenſe profit to part of Europe, and even to the nation that was proprietor of the territory in which it was collected. This ſmuggling intercourſe was ſo briſk and ſo conſtant, that from the year 1700 to the end of 1727, only five ſhips were ſent out from the ports of Spain to Venezuela, and they, all of them without exception, made a voyage more or leſs ruinous.

The province of Venezuela is ſubjected to a monopoly. Proſperity of the Company.

Such was the ſituation of affairs, when ſome merchants of the province of Guipuſcoa imagined, in 1728, that it would be advantageous to them to unite in a body in order to undertake this navigation. Their views were approved and encouraged by government. The principal conditions of the grant were, that the Company ſhould pay for every thing they might chooſe to ſend out, and for every thing they might receive, the taxes that were already ſettled, and that they ſhould entertain, at their own expence, a ſufficient number of guarda coſtas, to prevent the inhabitants from ſmuggling.

Some alterations were ſucceſſively made in the adminiſtration of this ſociety. At firſt they were only permitted to fit out two ſhips every year; but in 1734 they obtained leave to ſend as many as they thought proper.

In the beginning, the Company had not the privilege of an excluſive charter. The government granted it to them in 1742, for the department of Caraccas; and ten years after for that of Maracaibo, two territories, the union of which forms the province of Venezuela, extending four hundred miles along the coaſt.

Till the year 1744, the ſhips, on their return from the New World, were all to depoſit their whole cargo in the port of Cadiz. After this period, they were only obliged to carry there the cacao neceſſary for the ſupply of Andaluſia and of the neighbouring diſtricts. They were allowed to diſembark the reſt at Saint Sebaſtian, the place of the riſe of the Company.

It was in this town that the general meeting of the proprietors was originally holden. In 1751, it was transferred to the capital of the empire, where ſome one of the moſt eſteemed members of the council of the Indies preſides over it every two years.

The merchandiſe was at firſt delivered to the higheſt bidder. The Court was then informed that a general diſcontent prevailed; that a ſmall number of rich aſſociates ſhould monopolize the cacao, which is conſidered in Spain as an article of primary neceſſity, and ſhould afterwards ſell it at what price they choſe. Theſe murmurs occaſioned, in 1752, a regulation, that without ſuppreſſing the magazines at Saint Sebaſtian, at Cadiz, and at Madrid, new ones ſhould be eſtabliſhed at Corunna, at Alicant, and at Barcelona; and that in all of them the cacao ſhould be retailed to the inhabitants at the price ſettled by the miniſtry.

The Company obtained, in 1753, that their ſhares ſhould be conſidered as a real eſtate; that they might be perpetually entailed, and formed into thoſe unalienable and indiviſible *majoraſcos*, or inheritances ſettled upon the eldeſt heir, which are in general ſo flattering to the pride of the Spaniards.

It was decreed, in 1761, that the Company ſhould advance, to the members who might wiſh for it, the value of ſixteen ſhares; that theſe ſhares ſhould be put in truſt, and that they might be ſold, if after a ſtipulated period the proprietor did not withdraw them. The intent of this prudent arrangement, was to ſuccour ſuch of the proprietors whoſe affairs might be ſomewhat embarraſſed, and to maintain the credit of the Company by honeſt means.

According to regulations made in 1776, the operations of the Company are to extend to Cumana, to the Oroonoko, to the iſlands of the Trinity and St. Margaret. Theſe countries, indeed, have not been ſubjected to its monopoly: but the favours it has received are equivalent to an excluſive privilege.

During theſe changes, the number of freemen and of ſlaves were increaſing at Venezuela. The ſeven hundred and fifty-nine plantations, diſtributed in ſixty-one villages, were emerging from their languid ſtate, and others were forming. The former cultures were improved, and new ones eſtabliſhed. The cattle penetrated more and more into the inland parts of the country. But it was chiefly in the diſtrict of Caraccas that the improvements were moſt conſpicuous. The town which bears this name, contained four and twenty thouſand inhabitants, moſt of them in eaſy circumſtances. The Guayra which ſerved for the purpoſe of its navigation, though it afforded nothing more than an indifferent anchorage, ſurrounded with a ſmall number of huts, was gradually becoming a conſiderable colony, and even a tolerable harbour, by means of a large pier conſtructed with ſkill.

At Puerto Cabello, which had been entirely abandoned, though one of the beſt ports of America, three hundred houſes were raiſed. Let us endeavour to inveſtigate the cauſes of this ſingular proſperity, under the ſhackles of a monopoly.

The Company underſtood from the firſt, that their ſucceſs was inſeparable from that of the colony; and they therefore advanced to the inhabitants as far as 3,240,000 livres [135,000l.], without intereſt. This debt was to be diſcharged in commodities; and thoſe who did not fulfil their engagements were ſummoned to the tribunal of the king's repreſentative, whoſe province it was ſolely to judge, whether the cauſes of delay were, or were not, reaſonable.

The magazines of the Company were conſtantly ſupplied with every thing that might be of uſe to the country, and always open to receive every thing the country could pour into them. By this method, the labours were never languid for want of means, or of a market.

The value of what the Company were to ſell, or to buy, was not left to the rapacity of their agents. The government of the province always fixed the price of what came from Europe; and a meeting compoſed of the directors, coloniſts, and factors, always regulated the price of the productions of the ſoil.

Such of the inhabitants of the New World as were not ſatisfied with theſe regulations, were allowed to ſend into the Old one, upon their own account, the ſixth part of their crops, and to receive the value in merchandiſe; but theſe affairs were always to be tranſacted by the ſhips of the Company.

By theſe arrangements the cultivator was better rewarded for his labours, than he had been at the time of the contraband trade. The new diſpoſition of things was in reality fatal only to a few ſcheming, turbulent, and adventurous men, who collected in their hands, at a low price, the productions of the country, in order to deliver them afterwards to foreign navigators of the ſame character as themſelves.

The new kingdom of Grenada, Mexico, ſome of the American iſlands, and the Canaries, were in the habit of drawing from Venezuela part of the cacao conſumed by their inhabitants. Theſe colonies continued to enjoy this right without reſtraint. They even purſued it with greater advantage, becauſe the production which they wanted to procure, became more plentiful, and was obtained at a cheaper rate.

Formerly Venezuela furniſhed nothing to the trade of the mother-country. The Company, ſince their eſtabliſhment, have always ſupplied it with productions, the quantity of which hath ſucceſſively increaſed. From the year 1748 to 1753, the Company conveyed annually into the colony to the value of

3,197,327 livres [132,221l. 19s. 2d.], in merchandiſe. They drew from thence annually to the amount of 239,144 livres [9964l. 6s. 8d.], in ſilver; thirty-ſeven thouſand quintals of cacao, which they ſold for 5,332,000 livres [222,166l. 13s. 4d.]; two thouſand five hundred quintals of tobacco, ſold for 178,200 livres [7425l.]; one hundred and fifty-ſeven quintals of indigo ſold for 198,990 livres [8291l. 5s.]; twenty thouſand ſkins, with the hair on, ſold for 356,400 livres [14,850l.]; and ſome *dividi*, ſold for 27,000 livres [1125l.]; ſo that their returns amounted to 6,821,734 livres [284,646l. 1s. 8d.]. The apparent profit was therefore, 3,634,407 livres [151,433l. 12s. 6d.]. We call it apparent, becauſe the expences and the cuſtoms abſorbed 1,932,500 livres [80,590l. 16s. 8d.] of this ſum; ſo that the real profit of the Company was only 1,701,897 livres [70,922l. 7s. 6d.].

All theſe branches of commerce have been increaſed except that of the *dividi*, which it hath been neceſſary to give up, ſince it hath been found that it was not fit to be ſubſtituted to the Aleppo nut in dyeing; as it hath been rather inconſiderately imagined. The extenſion would have been ſtill greater, had it been poſſible to put an end to ſmuggling. But notwithſtanding the vigilance of ten cruizers, with eighty-ſix guns, one hundred and ninety-two ſwivels, and five hundred and eighteen men on board; notwithſtanding twelve poſts, with ten or twelve ſoldiers in each, eſtabliſhed along the coaſt, and notwithſtanding the annual expence of 1,400,000 livres [58,333l. 6s. 8d.], the contraband trade hath not been entirely eradicated; and it is chiefly at Coro that it is carried on.

The nation has profited equally by the eſtabliſhment of the Company. It does not pay them for the cacao more than half the price which the Dutch uſed to charge. The quintal, which is now bought in Spain for 160 livres [6l. 13s. 4d.], uſed formerly to coſt 320 [13l. 6s. 8d.].

The advantages which accrue to the government from the eſtabliſhment of the Company are not leſs evident. Before this period, the revenues of the crown at Venezuela, were never ſufficient to defray the expences of ſovereignty. They have ſince increaſed conſiderably, not only becauſe the citadel of Puerto Cabello has been conſtructed, which hath coſt 1,620,000 livres [67,500l.], but alſo, becauſe a greater number of regular troops are maintained in the country. The treaſury, however, hath ſome ſuperfluous caſh, which it diſtributes at Cumana, at St. Margaret's, at Trinity iſland, and on the Oroonoko. This is not the whole. In Europe, the productions of the country pay annually to the ſtate more than 1,600,000 [66,666l. 13s. 4d.], and the navigation they give riſe to forms fifteen hundred ſailors for it, or keeps them in conſtant employment.

But hath the Company itſelf been equally proſperous? There was every reaſon to doubt, in the beginning, whether it would maintain itſelf. Although the coloniſts were allured to become members of it, they refuſed at firſt to deliver their productions to it. In Spain, where a commercial aſſociation was a novelty, no great eagerneſs was ſhown to become a member of it, notwithſtanding the example ſet by the monarch, by the queen, by the infant Don Lewis, and by the province of Guipuſcoa. It was neceſſary to reduce the number of ſhares to fifteen hundred, which it had been reſolved to carry on to three thouſand; and the capital, intended to be ſix millions [250,000l.], was reduced to three [125,000l.]. Theſe difficulties did not prevent conſiderable dividends from being paid to the proprietors, even in the very firſt years. The ſums in reſerve were, however, ſufficient, in 1752, to double the original funds, and in 1766 to treble them, with a regular intereſt of five per cent, excluſive of the extraordinary dividends. On the firſt of January 1772, the Company's debts, even including the value of the ſhares, which had riſen to 1,000,000 livres [375,000l.], amounted to no more than 15,198,618 livres 12 ſols [633,275l. 15s. 6d.], and they were in poſſeſſion of

21,153,760 livres 4 ſols [881,407l. 3s. 6d.]. Conſequently, they had 5,955,141 livres 12 ſols [248,150l. 18s.] above what they owed.

The improper ſpirit that generally prevails in excluſive ſocieties, hath not affected that of Caraccas ſo much as others. It hath never been led aſtray from its ſyſtem by abſurd enterpriſes. Its integrity hath preſerved it from every kind of law, and even from the ſlighteſt conteſt. That its deſtiny might not be expoſed to the caprices of the ocean, or to the riſks of war, its cargoes have been all of them inſured. Its engagements have been fulfilled with inviolable fidelity. And laſtly, in a country where moſt of the landed eſtates are entailed, and where there are few good vents for money, the Company hath obtained all that it wanted, at two and a half per cent.

In order to conciliate to itſelf the good wiſhes of the nation, which are generally denied in all parts to a monopoly, the Company hath always been deſirous of appearing animated with a public ſpirit. From the year 1735, it took upon itſelf the care of the manufactures of Placentia, which ſcarce uſed to furniſh eight thouſand firelocks per annum; and which, at preſent, without reckoning ſome other kinds of arms that have begun to be fabricated there, ſupplies fourteen thouſand four hundred, with the ſcutcheons of their locks, which it was before neceſſary to bring from Liege. Though during the ſhort war of 1762, ſix of the Company's veſſels, richly laden, fell into the hands of the Engliſh, it ſtill devoted to government all the credit and influence it poſſeſſed. Wood for the building of ſhips was periſhing in the province of Navarre, ſo that it became neceſſary to cut it down. Roads were alſo to be made to bring it down to the borders of the Vidaſſoa, and this uncertain river was to be put in a ſtate fit to carry this wood to its mouth, after which it was to be conducted to the important harbour of Ferrol. Since the year 1766, all theſe things are executed by the Company to the great advantage of the military branch of the navy.

This Company ſtill continues to announce other enterpriſes uſeful to the ſtate ; but it is a matter of doubt whether it will be allowed time to execute them. The reſolution which the Court of Madrid ſeems to have taken, to open its ports of the New World to all its ſubjects of the Old, muſt neceſſarily excite a preſumption that the province of Venezuela will, ſooner or later, ceaſe to be under the reſtraints of a monopoly. It is however a problem, whether the diſſolution of the Company will be productive of good or evil ; and it can only be ſolved by the nature of the meaſures that ſhall be adopted by the Spaniſh miniſtry.

The Court of Madrid gives up Cumana to the care of Las Caſas. Ineffectual attempts of this celebrated man to render this diſtrict flouriſhing.

The coaſt of Cumana was diſcovered in 1498 by Columbus. Ojeda, who had embarked with this great navigator, landed there the next year, and even made ſome exchanges peaceably with the ſavages. It appeared more convenient to the adventurers who ſucceeded him, to ſtrip theſe feeble men of their gold or of their pearls ; and this kind of robbery was as common in this region as in the other parts of America, when Las Caſas undertook to put a ſtop to it.

This man, ſo famous in the annals of the New World, had accompanied his father at the time of the firſt diſcovery. The mildneſs and ſimplicity of the Indians affected him ſo ſtrongly, that he made himſelf an eccleſiaſtic, in order to devote his labours to their converſion. But this ſoon became the leaſt of his attentions. Being more a *man* than a *prieſt*, he felt more for the cruelties exerciſed againſt them than for their ridiculous ſuperſtitions. He was continually hurrying from one hemiſphere to the other, in order to comfort thoſe for whom he had conceived ſuch an attachment, or to ſoften their tyrants. The inutility of his efforts convinced him, that he ſhould never do any good in ſettlements that were already formed ; and he propoſed to himſelf to eſtabliſh a colony upon a new foundation.

His coloniſts were all to be planters, artificers, or miſſionaries. No one was to be allowed to mix with them without his conſent. A particular dreſs, ornamented with a croſs, was to prevent them from being thought to belong to that race of Spaniards which had rendered itſelf ſo odious. He reckoned, that with theſe kinds of knights, he ſhould be able, without war, violence, or ſlavery, to civilize the Indians, to convert them, to accuſtom them to labour, and even to employ them in working the mines. He aſked no aſſiſtance from the treaſury at firſt, and he was afterwards ſatisfied with the twelfth of the tributes which he ſhould ſooner or later bring into it.

The ambitious, who govern empires, conſider the people as mere objects of trade, and treat as chimerical every thing that tends to the improvement and happineſs of the human ſpecies. Such was at firſt the impreſſion which the ſyſtem of Las Caſas made upon the Spaniſh miniſtry. He was not diſcouraged by denials, and at length ſucceeded in having the diſtrict of Cumana ceded to him, to put his theory in practice. This man of ardent genius immediately went through all the provinces of Caſtile, in order to collect men accuſtomed to the labours of the field, and to thoſe of manufactures. But theſe peaceful citizens had not ſo eager a deſire to leave their country as ſoldiers or ſailors have. Scarce could he prevail upon two hundred of them to follow him. With theſe he ſet ſail for America, and landed at Porto-Rico in 1519, after a fortunate voyage.

Although Las Caſas had only quitted the New Hemiſphere two years before, yet he found a total alteration in it at his return. The entire deſtruction of the Indians in the iſlands ſubject to Spain, had excited the reſolution of going to the continent in ſearch of ſlaves, to replace the unfortunate men who had periſhed from oppreſſion. This cruelty diſguſted the independent minds of the ſavages. In the height of their reſentment, they maſſacred as many of the Spaniards as fell into their hands by chance; and two miſſionaries, who probably came to Cumana with a laudable deſign, were the victims of theſe juſt retaliations. Ocampo immediately went from St. Domingo, to puniſh an outrage committed, as it was ſaid, againſt Heaven itſelf; and after having deſtroyed all by fire and ſword, he built a village upon the ſpot, which he called Toledo.

It was within theſe weak paliſades that Las Caſas was obliged to place the ſmall number of his companions who had reſiſted the intemperance of the climate, and the attempts made to ſeduce them from him. Their reſidence was not long here. Moſt of them were pierced with the darts of an implacable enemy; and thoſe who eſcaped, were forced, in 1521, to ſeek an aſylum ſomewhere elſe.

Some Spaniards have ſince ſettled at Cumana; but the population of this diſtrict hath always been much confined, and hath never extended to any diſtance from the coaſts. During the courſe of two centuries, the mother-country had not any direct intercourſe with this ſpot. It is but lately, that one or two ſmall ſhips have been ſent there annually, which, in exchange for the liquors and merchandiſe of Europe, receive cocoa and ſome other productions.

Of the river Oroonoko.

It was Columbus, who, in 1498, firſt diſcovered the Oroonoko, the borders of which have ſince been named Spaniſh Guiana. This great river takes its ſource among the Cordeleirias mountains, and diſcharges itſelf into the ocean by forty openings, after it hath been increaſed throughout an immenſe track by the afflux of a prodigious number of rivers more or leſs conſiderable. Such is its impetuoſity, that it ſtems the ſtrongeſt tides, and preſerves the freſhneſs of its waters to the diſtance of twelve leagues from that vaſt and deep channel within which it was confined. Its rapidity, however, is not always the ſame, which is owing to a circumſtance perhaps entirely peculiar. The Oroonoko, which begins to ſwell in April, continues riſing for five months, and during the ſixth remains at its greateſt height. From October, it begins gradually to ſubſide till the month of March, through-but the whole of which it remains in the fixed ſtate of its greateſt diminution. Theſe alternate changes are regular, and even invariable.

This phenomenon ſeems to depend much more on the ſea than on the land. In the ſix months that the river is riſing, the hemiſphere of the New World preſents nothing but ſeas, at leaſt but little land, to the perpendicular action of the rays of the ſun. In the ſix months of its fall, America exhibits nothing but dry land to the planet by which it is illuminated. The ſea at this time is leſs ſubject to the influence of the ſun, or, at leaſt, its current towards the eaſtern ſhore is more balanced, more broken by the land, and muſt therefore leave a freer courſe to the rivers, which not being then ſo ſtrongly confined by the ſea, cannot be ſwelled but by rains, or by the melting of the ſnows from the Cordeleirias. Perhaps, indeed, the riſing of the waters of the Oroonoko may depend entirely on the rainy ſeaſon. But to be thoroughly acquainted with the cauſes of ſo ſingular a phenomenon, it would be neceſſary to conſider the connection between the courſe of this river, and that of the Amazons by Rio Negro, and to know the track and direction both of the one and the other. From the difference of their poſition, their ſource, and their opening into the ſea, it is not improbable that the cauſe of ſo remarkable a difference in the periods of their flux and reflux might be diſcovered. All things are connected in this world by ſyſtem. The courſes of the rivers depend either on the diurnal or annual revolutions of the earth. Whenever enlightened men ſhall have viſited the banks of the Oroonoko, they will diſcover, or at leaſt they will attempt to diſcover, the cauſes of theſe phenomena: but their endeavours will be attended with difficulties. This river is not ſo navigable as it might be preſumed from its magnitude; its bed is in many places filled up with rocks, which oblige the navigator, at times, to carry both his boats and the merchandiſe they are laden with.

Former and preſent condition of the women on the banks of the Oroonoko.

Before the arrival of the Europeans, the people who border on this river, but little diſtant from the burning equator, knew not the uſe of clothes, nor the reſtraints of police; neither had they any form of government. Free under the yoke of poverty, they lived chiefly by hunting and fiſhing, and on wild fruits. But little of their time or labour could be ſpent on agriculture, where they had nothing but a ſtick to plough with, and hatchets made of ſtone to cut down trees; which, after being burned or rotted, left the ſoil in a proper ſtate for bearing.

The women lived in a ſtate of oppreſſion on the Oroonoko, as they do in all barbarous regions. The ſavage, whoſe wants engage his whole attention, is employed only in providing for his ſafety and his ſubſiſtence. He hath no other allurement to partake of the pleaſures of love, than that mere natural inſtinct which attends to the perpetuity of the ſpecies. The intercourſe between the two ſexes, which is generally caſual, would ſcarce ever be followed by any permanent conſequences, if paternal and maternal tenderneſs did not attach the parents to their offspring. But before the firſt child can provide for itſelf, others are born, which call for the ſame care. At length the inſtant arrives, when this ſocial reaſon exiſts no more: but then the power of long habit, the comfort of ſeeing ourſelves ſurrounded by a family more or leſs numerous, the hopes of being aſſiſted in our latter years by our poſterity; all theſe circumſtances expel the idea and the wiſh of a ſeparation. The men are the perſons who reap the greateſt advantages from this cohabitation. Among people who hold nothing in eſtimation but ſtrength and courage, tyranny is always exerciſed over weakneſs, in return for the protection that is afforded it. The women live in a ſtate of diſgrace. Labours, conſidered as the moſt abject, are their portion. Men, whoſe hands are accuſtomed to the handling of arms, and to the management of the oar, would think themſelves degraded, if they employed them-ſedentary occupations, or even in the labours of agriculture.

Among a people of ſhepherds, who having a more certain exiſtence, can beſtow rather more attention upon making it agreeable, the women are leſs wretched. In the eaſe and leiſure which they enjoy, theſe people can form to themſelves an idea of beauty; they can indulge their taſte in the object of their affections; and, to the idea of natural pleaſure, can add that of a more noble ſenſation.

The connections between the two ſexes are ſtill further improved, as ſoon as the lands begin to be cultivated. Property, which had no exiſtence among ſavages, and was of little conſequence among a people of ſhepherds, begins to acquire a degree of importance among a people engaged in agriculture. The inequality which ſoon introduces itſelf among the fortunes of men, muſt occaſion ſome in the conſideration they hold. The ties of marriage are then no longer formed by chance, but according to conditions in life that are ſuitable to each other. A man, in order to be accepted, muſt make himſelf agreeable; and this neceſſity brings on attentions to the women, and gives them a degree of dignity.

They receive additional importance from the eſtabliſhment of the arts and of commerce. Buſineſs is then increaſed, and connections are complicated. Men, who are often obliged, from more extenſive affairs, to quit their manufactures and their home, are under the neceſſity of adding to their talents the vigilance of their wives. As the habit of gallantry, luxury, and diſſipation, hath not yet entirely diſguſted them of ſolitary or ſerious occupations, they devote themſelves, without reſerve, and with ſucceſs, to functions with which they think themſelves honoured. The retirement which this kind of life requires, renders the practice of all the domeſtic virtues dear and familiar to them. The influence, the reſpect, and the attachment of all thoſe that are about them, are the reward of a conduct ſo eſtimable.

At length the time comes, when men grow diſguſted of labour, from the increaſe of their fortunes. Their principal care is to prevent time from hanging heavy on their hands, to multiply their amuſements, and to extend their enjoyments. At this period, the women are eagerly ſought after, both on account of the amiable qualities they hold from nature, and of thoſe they have received from education. Their connections become more extenſive, ſo that they are no longer ſuited for a retired life, but required to ſhine in a more brilliant ſcene. When introduced upon the ſtage of the world, they become the ſoul of every pleaſure, and the primum mobile of the moſt important affairs. Supreme happineſs conſiſts in making one's ſelf agreeable to them; and it is the height of ambition to obtain ſome diſtinction from them. Then it is, that the freedom which exiſts between the two ſexes in a ſtate of nature is revived, with this remarkable difference, that, in poliſhed cities, the huſband is often leſs attached to his wife, and the wife to her huſband, than in the midſt of the foreſts; that their offspring, truſted, at the inſtant of their birth, to the hands of mercenaries, are no longer a tie; and that infidelity, which would be attended with no fatal conſequences among moſt ſavage people, affects domeſtic tranquillity and happineſs among civilized nations, where it is one of the principal ſymptoms of general corruption, and of the extinction of all decent affections.

The tyranny exerciſed againſt the women upon the banks of the Oroonoko, ſtill more than in the reſt of the New World, muſt be one of the principal cauſes of the depopulation of theſe countries that are ſo much favoured by nature. Mothers have contracted the cuſtom of deſtroying the daughters they bring forth, by cutting the umbilical cord ſo cloſe to the body, that the children die of an hæmorrhage. Chriſtianity itſelf hath not even been able to put a ſtop to this abominable practice. The fact is confirmed by the Jeſuit Gumilla; who being informed that one of his converts had been guilty of ſuch a murder, went to her, in order to reproach her of her crime in the ſtrongeſt terms. The woman liſtened to the emiſſary, without ſhowing the leaſt ſigns of emotion. When he had finiſhed his remonſtrance, ſhe deſired leave to anſwer him, which ſhe did in the following manner:

"Would to God, O Father! Would to God, that, "at the inſtant of my birth, my mother had ſhowed "love and compaſſion enough for her child, to ſpare "me all the evils I have endured, and thoſe I ſhall "ſtill ſuffer, to the end of my life! Had my mother "deſtroyed me at my birth, I ſhould have died, but "I ſhould not have been ſenſible of my death; and "ſhould have eſcaped the moſt miſerable of condi"tions. How much have I already ſuffered; and who "knows what I have ſtill to undergo!

"Repreſent to thyſelf, O Father, the troubles that "are reſerved for an Indian woman among theſe In"dians. They accompany us into the fields with "their bow and arrows; while we go there, laden "with an infant, whom we carry in a baſket, and an"other, who hangs at our breaſt. They go to kill "birds, or to catch fiſh; while we are employed in "digging the ground, and after having gone through "all the labours of the culture, are obliged alſo to "bear thoſe of the harveſt. They return in the even"ing without any burthen; and we bring them roots "for their food, and maize for their drink. As ſoon "as they come home, they go and amuſe themſelves "with their friends; while we are fetching wood and "water to prepare for their ſupper. When they have "eaten, they fall aſleep; and we paſs almoſt the "whole night in grinding the maize, and in preparing "the chica for them. And what reward have we for "theſe labours? They drink; and when they are in"toxicated, they drag us by the hair, and trample us "under foot.

"O Father, would to God that my mother had de"ſtroyed me at the inſtant of my birth! Thou know"eſt thyſelf that our complaints are juſt; thou haſt "daily inſtances before thine eyes of the truth of my aſſertions. But the greateſt misfortune we labour under it is impoſſible thou ſhouldſt know. It is a melancholy circumſtance for a poor Indian woman to ſerve her huſband as a ſlave in the fields, oppreſſed with fatigue, and at home deprived of tranquillity: but it is a dreadful thing, when twenty years are elapſed, to ſee him take another woman, whoſe judgment is not formed. He attaches himſelf to her. She beats our children; ſhe commands us, and treats us as her ſervants; and, if the leaſt murmur eſcape us, a ſtick raiſed .... Oh! Father, how is it poſſible that we ſhould bear this condition? What can an Indian woman do better than to prevent her child from living in a ſtate of ſlavery infinitely worſe than death? Would to God, O Father! I repeat it, that my mother had conceived affection enough for me to bury me when I was born! My heart would not have been thus afflicted, nor would mine eyes have been accuſtomed to tears."

State of the Spaniſh colony formed on the banks of the Oroonoko.

The Spaniards, who could not pay attention to all the regions they diſcovered, loſt ſight of the Oroonoko. They did not attempt to ſail up this river again till the year 1535, when, not having found there the mines they were in ſearch of, they neglected it. Nevertheleſs, the few who had been thrown upon this ſpot, devoted themſelves with ſo much aſſiduity to the culture of tobacco, that they delivered a few cargoes of it every year to the foreign veſſels which came to purchaſe it. This contraband trade was prohibited by the mother-country; and this weak ſettlement was twice plundered by enterpriſing pirates. Theſe diſaſters occaſioned it to be forgotten. It was recalled to mind again in 1753. The commodore Nicholas de Yturiaga was ſent there. This prudent man eſtabliſhed a regular ſyſtem of government in the colony that had formed itſelf inſenſibly in this part of the New World.

In 1771, thirteen villages were ſeen upon the banks of the Oroonoko, which contained four thouſand two hundred and nineteen Spaniards, Meſtees, Mulattoes, or Negroes; four hundred and thirty-one plantations; and twelve thouſand eight hundred and fifty-four oxen, mules, or horſes.

At the ſame period, the Indians, who had been prevailed upon to quit their ſavage life, were diſtributed in forty-nine hamlets.

The five of theſe which had been under the direction of the Jeſuits, computed fourteen hundred and twenty-ſix inhabitants, three hundred and forty-four plantations, and nine hundred and fifty heads of cattle.

Eleven of them, which are under the direction of the Franciſcan Friars, reckoned nineteen hundred and thirty-four inhabitants, three hundred and five plantations, and nine hundred and fifty heads of cattle.

Eleven others, which are under the direction of the Capuchins of Arragon, computed two thouſand two hundred and eleven inhabitants, four hundred and ſeventy plantations, and five hundred and ſeven heads of cattle.

The two and twenty which are under the direction of the Capuchins of Catalonia, reckoned ſix thouſand eight hundred and thirty inhabitants, fifteen hundred and ninety-two plantations, and forty-ſix thouſand heads of cattle.

This amounted in the whole to ſixty-two colonies, ſixteen thouſand ſix hundred and twenty inhabitants, three thouſand one hundred and forty-two plantations, and ſeventy-two thouſand three hundred and forty-one heads of cattle.

Till theſe laſt mentioned times, the Dutch of Curaçao were the only perſons who traded with this ſettlement. They ſupplied its wants, and were paid with tobacco, hides, and cattle. The bargains were all concluded at St. Thomas, the capital of the colony. The Negroes and the Europeans managed their own affairs; but they were the miſſionaries alone who treated for their converts. The ſame arrangement of things ſtill ſubſiſts, although for ſome years paſt the competition of the Spaniſh ſhips hath begun to keep away the ſmuggling veſſels.

It is pleaſing to entertain a hope that theſe vaſt and fertile regions will at length emerge from the ſtate of obſcurity into which they are plunged, and that the ſeeds which have been ſown there will produce, ſooner or later, abundant fruits. Between a ſavage life and a ſtate of ſociety, there is an immenſe deſert to paſs; but from the infancy of civilization to the full vigour of trade, there are but a few ſteps to take. Time, as it increaſes ſtrength, ſhortens diſtances. The advantage that might be obtained from the labour of theſe new colonies, by procuring them conveniences, would bring riches to Spain.

Short deſcription of the New kingdom of Grenada.

Behind theſe very extenſive coaſts of which we have been ſpeaking, and in the inland part of the country, is found what the Spaniards call the New kingdom of Grenada. Its extent is prodigious. Its climate is more or leſs damp, more or leſs cold, more or leſs hot, and more or leſs temperate, according to the direction of the branches of the Cordeleirias mountains, which interſect the different parts of it. Few of theſe mountains are ſuſceptible of cultivation: but moſt of the plains and valleys that ſeparate them exhibit a fertile ſoil.

Even before the conqueſt the country was very little inhabited. In the midſt of the ſavages that wandered over it, a nation had, however, been formed, which had a religion, a form of government, and which practiſed cultivation. This nation, though inferior to the Mexicans and Peruvians, had raiſed itſelf much above the other people of America. Neither hiſtory nor tradition inform us in what manner this ſtate had been created; but we muſt ſuppoſe that it hath exiſted, although there be no traces remaining of its civilization.

This kingdom, if we may be allowed to call it ſo, was called Bogota. Benalcazar, who commanded at Quito, attacked it in 1526, on the ſouth ſide; and

Queſada, who had landed at Saint Martha, attacked it on the north. It was to be ſuppoſed that men, united among themſelves, accuſtomed to fight together, and led on by an abſolute chief, would make ſome reſiſtance. This they accordingly did; but were at length obliged to yield to the valour, the arms, and the diſcipline of the Europeans. The two Spaniſh captains had the glory, ſince it is one, of adding one large poſſeſſion to thoſe with which their ſovereigns had ſuffered themſelves to be overloaded in this New Hemiſphere. In proceſs of time, the provinces more or leſs diſtant from this central point were partly ſubjected. We ſay partly, becauſe ſuch is the natural diſpoſition of the country, that it was never poſſible to ſubdue all its inhabitants; and that thoſe among them who had ſubmitted to the yoke, broke it as ſoon as they had the courage to determine reſolutely about it. It is not even improbable that moſt of them would have taken this reſolution, had they been employed in thoſe deſtructive labours which have cauſed ſuch ravages in the other parts of the New World.

What the New kingdom of Grenada hath been, what it is, and what it may become.

Some writers have ſpoken with almoſt unexampled enthuſiaſm of the riches which were at firſt derived from this new kingdom. They make them amount to a ſum capable of aſtoniſhing the minds of thoſe who are moſt eager of the marvellous. Never, perhaps, was exaggeration carried ſo far. If the reality had only approached near to the fabulous accounts, this remarkable proſperity would have been recorded in the public regiſters, as well as the ſtate of all the colonies that are really important. Other monuments could have perpetuated the remembrance of it. Theſe treaſures have never, therefore, exiſted at any time, except under the pens of a few writers, naturally credulous, or who ſuffered themſelves to be ſeduced by the hope of adding to the ſplendour with which their country already ſhone.

The New kingdom furniſhes at preſent the emerald, a precious ſtone, which is tranſparent, and of a green

BOOK VII. colour, and which hath no greater degree of hardneſs than the rock cryſtal.

Some countries of Europe furniſh emeralds; but they are of a very imperfect kind, and in little eſtimation.

It was for a long time believed that emeralds of a bright green came from the Eaſt Indies, and it is on this account that they have been called oriental. This opinion hath been rejected, ſince thoſe who ſupported it have not been able to name the places where they were found. It is now certain that Aſia hath never ſold us any of theſe jewels, except what ſhe herſelf had received from the New Hemiſphere.

Theſe beautiful emeralds, therefore, belong certainly to America alone. The firſt conquerors of Peru found a great quantity of them, which they broke on anvils, from an opinion which theſe adventurers entertained, that they would not break if they were fine. This loſs became the more ſenſibly felt through the impoſſibility of diſcovering the mine from whence the Incas had drawn them. The kingdom of New Grenada ſoon ſupplied this deficiency. This diſtrict ſends at preſent a leſs quantity of theſe jewels, whether it be that they are become more ſcarce, or that they are leſs in faſhion in our climate than they were. But gold comes from thence in greater plenty, and it is ſupplied by the provinces of Popayan and Chaco. It is obtained without much riſk, and at no conſiderable expence.

This precious metal, which in other parts muſt be digged out of the entrails of rocks, mountains, and precipices, is here found almoſt at the ſurface of the earth. It is mixed with it, but eaſily ſeparated by waſhings, more or leſs frequently repeated. The negroes, who are never employed in mines of any depth, becauſe experience hath ſhown that the cold in theſe mines deſtroyed them very faſt, are the only perſons burdened with theſe troubleſome labours. The cuſtom is, that the ſlaves ſhould bring to their maſters a certain quantity of gold. All they can collect above this quantity belongs to themſelves, as alſo what they find upon the days conſecrated to reſt by religion, but under the expreſs condition that they ſhall provide for their ſubſiſtence during theſe holidays. By theſe arrangements, the moſt laborious, the moſt frugal, and the moſt fortunate among them, are able, ſooner or later, to purchaſe their liberty. Then they raiſe their eyes towards the Spaniards; then they mix their blood with that of theſe proud conquerors.

The court of Madrid was diſſatisfied that a region, the natural advantages of which were continually extolled, ſhould furniſh ſo few articles, and ſo little of each. The diſtance of this immenſe country from the centre of authority, eſtabliſhed at Lima for the government of all South America, muſt have been one of the principal cauſes of this inactivity. A more immediate ſuperintendance was accordingly given to it, in order to communicate more motion to it, and to make that motion more regular. The vice-royalty of Peru was divided into two parts. That which was eſtabliſhed in 1718, in the New kingdom of Grenada, was formed upon the North Sea, of all that ſpace that extends from the frontiers of Mexico to the Oroonoko; and upon the South Sea of that ſpace which begins at Veragua and ends at Tombez. In the inland parts of the country Quito was alſo incorporated in it.

This new arrangement, though prudent and neceſſary, did not at firſt produce the great advantages that were expected from it. Much time is required to form good directors; and more ſtill, perhaps, to eſtabliſh order, and to reſtore to labour whole generations, enervated by continuing for two centuries in a ſtate of idleneſs and libertiniſm. The revolution hath, however, begun to take place; and Spain already receives ſome benefit from it.

Half of the gold collected in the colony was ſmuggled to foreigners; and it was chiefly by the rivers Atrato and de la Hache that this clandeſtine trade was carried on. The government have made themſelves maſters of the courſe of theſe rivers, by forts properly ſituated. Notwithſtanding theſe precautions, the ſmuggling will ſtill continue, as long as the Spaniards and their neighbours ſhall find their intereſt in it; but it will diminiſh. The harbours of the mother-country will ſend a greater quantity of merchandiſe, and will receive more metals.

The communication between one province, one city, and even one village and another, was difficult or impracticable. Every traveller was more or leſs expoſed to be plundered or maſſacred by the independent Indians. Theſe enemies, who were formerly implacable, yield, by degrees, to the invitations of the miſſionaries who have the courage to go in ſearch of them, and to the marks of benevolence which have at length ſucceeded to the cruelties ſo generally practiſed in the New World. If this mild ſpirit ſhould be continued, the ſavages of this region may one day become all civilized, and have a fixed reſidence.

Notwithſtanding the known goodneſs of great part of the territory, ſeveral of the provinces forming the New kingdom uſed to draw their ſubſiſtence from Europe or from North America. At length the government have been able to prohibit the importation of foreign flour throughout the extent of the vice-royalty, and even to furniſh Cuba with ſome. When the means ſhall no longer be wanting, private plantations will be eſtabliſhed in the New World along the coaſts; but the difficulty and the dearneſs of tranſport will never allow the inland parts of their country to extend their harveſts beyond what is required for local conſumption. The chief wiſh of the people who inhabit theſe parts is generally confined to the extenſion of the mines.

Every thing announces that theſe mines are in a manner innumerable in the New kingdom. The quality of the ſoil points them out. The almoſt daily earthquakes that happen there are owing to them. It is from them that the gold muſt flow, which the rivers habitually carry along with them; and it is from them that the gold came, which the Spaniards, at their firſt arrival in the New World, took from the ſavages on the coaſts in ſuch great quantities. Theſe are not mere conjectures at Maraquita, at Muſo, at Pampeluna, at Tacayma, and at Canaverales. The great mines that are found there are going to be opened; and it is hoped they will not be leſs abundant than thoſe of the valley of Neyva, which for ſome time paſt have been worked with ſo much ſucceſs. Theſe new treaſures will all unite themſelves to thoſe of Chaco and Popayan in Santa Fè de Bogota, the capital of the vice-royalty.

The city is ſituated at the foot of a ſteep and cold mountain, at the entrance of a vaſt and ſuperb plain. In 1774, it contained ſeventeen hundred and ſeventy houſes, three thouſand two hundred and forty-ſix families, and ſixteen thouſand two hundred and thirty-three inhabitants. Population muſt neceſſarily increaſe there, ſince it is the ſeat of government, the place where the coin is ſtricken, the ſtaple of trade; and laſtly, ſince it is the reſidence of an archbiſhop, whoſe immediate juriſdiction extends over thirty-one Spaniſh villages, which are called towns; over one hundred and ninety-five Indian colonies, anciently ſubdued; and over eight and twenty miſſions, eſtabliſhed in modern times. This archbiſhop hath likewiſe, as metropolitan, a ſort of inſpection over the dioceſes of Quito, of Panama, of Caraccas, of Saint Martha, and of Carthagena. It is by this laſt place, though at the diſtance of one hundred leagues, and by the river Magdalena, that Santa Fè keeps up its communication with Europe. The ſame route ſerves for Quito.

Remarkable ſingularities in the province of Quito.

This province is of immenſe extent; but the greateſt part of this vaſt ſpace is full of foreſts, moraſſes, and deſerts, in which we meet with nothing but a few wandering ſavages, at great intervals of diſtance. The only part that can properly be ſaid to be occupied, and governed by the Spaniards, is a valley of fourſcore leagues in length, and fifteen in breadth, formed by two branches of the Cordeleirias.

This is one of the fineſt countries in the world. Even in the centre of the torrid zone ſpring here is perpetual. Nature hath combined, under the line that covers ſo many ſeas and ſo little land, every circumſtance that could moderate the ardent heat of that beneficent conſtellation which is the cauſe of univerſal fertility: theſe are, the elevation of the globe in this ſummit of its ſphere; the vicinity of mountains of immenſe height and extent, and always covered with ſnows; and continual winds which refreſh the country the whole year, by interrupting the force of the perpendicular rays of heat. Nevertheleſs, after a morning which is uſually delightful, vapours begin to ariſe about one or two o'clock in the forenoon. The ſky is covered with gloomy clouds, which are changed into ſtorms. Then the whole atmoſphere is illuminated, and appears to be ſet on fire by lightning; and the thunder makes the mountains reſound with a terrible noiſe. To theſe dreadful earthquakes are ſometimes added: at other times, rain or ſunſhine prevails without intermiſſion for fifteen days together; and then there is an univerſal conſternation. The exceſs of moiſture ſpoils what is ſown, and drought produces dangerous diſeaſes.

But, if we except theſe unhappy accidents, which are extremely rare, the climate is one of the moſt wholeſome. The air is ſo pure, that thoſe nauſeous inſects are there unknown which infeſt almoſt the whole of America. Though licentiouſneſs and neglect render venereal complaints here almoſt general, the people ſuffer very little from them. Thoſe who have inherited this contagious diſtemper, or who have acquired it, grow old equally without danger and without inconvenience.

The moiſture and the action of the ſun being continual, and always ſufficient to unfold and ſtrengthen the ſhoots, the agreeable picture of the three moſt beautiful ſeaſons of the year is continually preſented to the eye of the inhabitants. In proportion as the graſs withers, freſh graſs ſprings up; and the enamel of the meadows is hardly paſt, but it appears afreſh. The trees are inceſſantly covered with green leaves, adorned with odoriferous flowers, and always laden with fruit; the colour, form, and beauty of which are continually varying in all their ſeveral progreſſive ſtates, from their firſt appearance to their maturity. The corn advances in the ſame progreſſion of fertility that is always renewing. At one view one may behold the new-ſown ſeed ſpringing up, ſome that is grown larger and ſpiked with ears, ſome turning yellow, and ſome under the reaper's ſcythe. The whole year is paſſed in ſowing and reaping, within the compaſs of the ſame horizon. This conſtant variety depends on the diverſity of the expoſures.

Reaſons why the country of Quito is ſo populous as it is. Labours of its inhabitants.

Accordingly, this is the moſt populous part of the continent of America. There are ten or twelve thouſand inhabitants at St. Michael d'Ibarra. Eighteen or twenty thouſand at Otabalo. Ten or twelve thouſand at Latacunga. Eighteen or twenty thouſand at Riobamba. Eight or ten thouſand at Hambato. From five-and-twenty to thirty thouſand at Cuença. Ten thouſand at Loxa, and ſix thouſand at Zaruma. The country places do not afford a leſs number of men than the towns,

Population would certainly be leſs conſiderable, if, as in many other places, the people had been buried in the mines. Numberleſs writers have blamed the inhabitants of this diſtrict for not having continued to work the mines that were opened at the time of the conqueſt, and for having neglected thoſe that have been ſucceſſively diſcovered. This reproach appears to be ill-founded to enlighten perſons, who have an opportunity of examining nearly into theſe matters. Their opinion in general is, that the mines of this diſtrict are not ſufficiently plentiful to defray the neceſſary expences of working them. We ſhall not pretend to decide upon this diſpute. Nevertheleſs, if we do but juſt conſider the paſſion which the Spaniards have always ſhown for the kind of wealth, which, without any labour on their parts, coſts nothing more than the blood of their ſlaves, we ſhall be induced to think, that nothing but a total impoſſibility, evinced by repeated experience, can have determined them to reſiſt their natural propenſity, and the urgent ſolicitations of the mother-country.

In the country of Quito, the manufactures keep thoſe perſons employed, who in other parts are enervated by the mines. Many hats, cottons, and coarſe woollen cloths, are fabricated there. With the produce of the quantity of theſe articles, conſumed in the different countries of South America, Quito paid for the wines, brandy, and oils which it was not allowed to procure from its own ſoil; for the dried and ſalt fiſh that came from the coaſts; for the ſoap, made of goats greaſe, that was ſupplied by Piura and Truſcillo; for the crude or wrought iron that was wanted for its manufactures; and for the ſmall quantity that it was poſſible it ſhould conſume of the merchandiſe of our hemiſphere. Theſe reſources have been conſiderably leſſened, ſince manufactures of the ſame kind have been eſtabliſhed in the neighbouring provinces; and eſpecially ſince the ſuperior cheapneſs of the European cottons and linens hath extended the uſe of them in a ſingular manner. Accordingly, the country is fallen into the moſt extreme ſtate of miſery.

It will never emerge from this ſituation by its proviſions. Not but that its fields are in general covered with ſugar-canes, with all ſorts of corn, with delicious fruits, and with numerous flocks. It would be difficult to find a ſoil ſo fertile, and cultivated with ſo little expence; but nothing that it furniſhes can ſupply foreign markets. Its natural riches muſt be conſumed upon the ſame territory that hath produced them. The bark is its only production which it has hitherto been poſſible to export.

The bark comes from the province of Quito. Reflections upon this remedy.

The tree which yields this precious remedy hath a ſtraight ſtem, and riſes to a conſiderable height when left to itſelf. Its trunk and its branches are proportioned to its height. The leaves, which are oppoſite, and connected at their baſe by an intermediary membrane or ſtipula, are of an oval figure, ſpread out at the lower part, and acute at their apex; they are very ſmooth and of a beautiful green. From the axillæ of the upper leaves, which are ſmaller, ariſe cluſters of flowers, reſembling, at firſt ſight, thoſe of the lavendar. Their calix, which is ſhort, hath five diviſions. The corolla forms an elongated tube, bluiſh on the outſide, and red within; it is filled with five ſtamina, ſpread out at the upper part, and divided into five lobes finely dentated. It bears upon a piſtil, which being ſurmounted with a ſingle ſtyle occupies the fundus of the calix, and becomes with it a dry fruit, truncated at the upper extremity, and divided longitudinally into two half-pods full of ſeeds, and lined with a membranous expanſion.

This tree grows upon the ſlope of mountains. The only precious part of it is the bark, known by its febrifuge qualities, and which requires no other preparation than that of drying. The thickeſt was preferred, till repeated analyſes and experiments had ſhown, that the thinneſt poſſeſſed moſt virtue.

The inhabitants diſtinguiſh three ſpecies, or rather three varieties of bark. The yellow and the red, which are in equal eſtimation, and differ only in the depth of their colour; and the white, which being of a much inferior quality, is not in great requeſt. It is diſtinguiſhed by its leaf being leſs ſmooth and rounder, its flower whiter, its ſeed larger, and its bark white on the outſide. The bark of the good ſpecies is generally brown, brittle, and rough on its ſurface, with cracks upon it.

Upon the borders of the river Maraguon, the country of Jaën furniſhes a great deal of white bark: but it was imagined, for a long time, that the yellow and the red were found nowhere but upon the territory of Loxa, a town founded in 1546 by Captain Alonzo de Mercadillo. The moſt eſteemed was that which grew at the diſtance of two leagues from this place, upon the mountain of Cajanuma; and no longer than fifty years ago, the merchants uſed to endeavour to prove by certificates, that the bark which they ſold came from that celebrated ſpot. In endeavouring to increaſe the quantity collected, the old trees were deſtroyed, and the new ones were not ſuffered to come to their complete growth; ſo that the talleſt of them are at preſent ſcarce three toiſes high. This ſcarcity occaſioned the trees to be ſearched for in other places. At length the ſame tree was diſcovered at Riobamba, at Cuença, in the neighbourhood of Loxa, and ſtill more recently at Bogota in the New Kingdom.

The bark was known at Rome in 1639. The Jeſuits, who had brought it there, diſtributed it gratis to the poor, and ſold it at an exorbitant price to the rich. The year following, John de Vega, phyſician to a vice-queen of Peru, who had experienced the ſalutary effects of it, eſtabliſhed it in Spain at a hundred crowns a pound [12l. 10s.]. This remedy ſoon acquired great reputation, which it maintained till the inhabitants of Loxa, not being able to ſupply the demands that were made on them, thought of mixing other barks with that for which there was ſo much demand. This fraud diminiſhed the confidence that had been placed in the bark. The meaſures taken by the court of Madrid to remedy ſo dangerous an impoſition, were not entirely ſucceſsful. The late diſcoveries have been more effectual than authority, in putting a ſtop to this adulteration. Accordingly, the uſe of the remedy hath become more general, eſpecially in England.

It is a generally received opinion, that the natives of the country were very anciently acquainted with the bark, and that they had recourſe to its virtues in intermittent fevers. It was ſimply infuſed in water, and the liquor given to the patient to drink, free of the reſiduum. M. Joſeph de Juſſieu taught them to make the extract from it, the uſe of which is much preferable to that of the bark in kind.

This botaniſt, the moſt intelligent of thoſe whom their zeal for the improvement of natural hiſtory hath carried into the Spaniſh poſſeſſions in the New World, had formed a much more extenſive plan. He went over moſt of the mountains of South America with incredible fatigues, and was juſt going to enrich Europe with the valuable diſcoveries he had made, when his papers were ſtolen from him. An excellent memory might partly have repaired this misfortune; but he was alſo deprived of this reſource. There was great want of a phyſician and an engineer in Peru. M. de Juſſieu poſſeſſed all the knowledge which theſe two profeſſions required, and the government of the country called upon him to employ his talents in this double capacity. Theſe new employments were accompanied with ſo many contradictions, ſo much diſguſt and ingratitude, that this excellent man could not bear up againſt them. His mind was totally deranged, when, in 1771, he was embarked, without fortune, for a country which he had quitted ſix-and-thirty years. Neither the government which had ſent him to the other hemiſphere, nor that which had detained him there, condeſcended to take any care of his future deſtiny; which would indeed have been deplorable, had it not been for the tenderneſs of a brother, as reſpectable for his virtues as celebrated for his knowledge. The worthy nephews of M. Bernard de Juſſieu have inherited their uncle's attention to this unfortunate traveller, who died in 1779. May this conduct of a family, whoſe name is illuſtrious in the ſciences, ſerve as a model to all thoſe who, either for their happineſs or their misfortune, apply themſelves to the cultivation of literature!

M. Joſeph de Juſſieu, who found that the people had received with docility the inſtructions he had given them reſpecting the bark, endeavoured alſo to perſuade them to improve, by conſtant and regular attention, the wild cochineal which the country itſelf ſupplied their manufactures with, and the coarſe cinnamon which they drew from Quixos and Macas: but his advice hath hitherto had no effect, whether it be that theſe productions have not been found ſuſceptible of any improvement, or whether no pains have been taken to bring it about.

The laſt conjecture will appear the moſt probable to thoſe who have a proper idea of the maſters of the country. Still more generally than the other Spaniſh Americans, they live in a ſtate of idleneſs from which nothing can rouſe them, and in debaucheries which no motive can interrupt. Theſe manners are more particularly the manners of the perſons, whoſe reſidence, from birth, employments, or fortune, is fixed in the city of Quito, the capital of the province, and very agreeably built upon the declivity of the celebrated mountain of Pitchincha. Fifty thouſand Meſtees, Indians, or negroes, allured by theſe ſeducing examples, alſo infeſt this ſpot with their vices, and in particular carry their paſſion for rum, and for gaming, to an exceſs that is unknown in the other great cities of the New World.

Digreſſion upon the formation of mountains.

But, in order to relieve our imagination from ſuch a number of diſtreſſing pictures, which, perhaps, have too much engaged our attention, let us for a moment quit theſe bloody ſcenes, and let us enter into Peru, fixing our contemplation upon thoſe frightful mountains, where learned and bold aſtronomers went to meaſure the figure of the earth. Let us indulge ourſelves in thoſe ſenſations which they undoubtedly experienced, and which every traveller, learned or ignorant, muſt experience, wherever nature preſents him with ſuch a ſcene. Let us even be allowed to throw out ſome general conjectures reſpecting the formation of mountains.

At the ſight of thoſe enormous maſſes, which riſe to ſuch prodigious heights above the humble ſurface of the earth, where almoſt all mankind have fixed their reſidence; of thoſe maſſes, which on one ſpot are crowned with impenetrable and ancient foreſts, that have never reſounded with the ſtroke of the hatchet, and which preſent, on another, nothing more than a barren and dreary ſurface; which in one country reign in ſedate and ſilent majeſty, that ſtops the cloud in its courſe, and breaks the impetuoſity of the wind; while in another, they keep the traveller at a diſtance from their ſummits by ramparts of ice that ſurround them, from the centre of which volleys of flame iſſue forth; or frighten him who attempts to aſcend them, with horrid and concealed caverns digged on each ſide: maſſes, ſeveral of which give vent to impetuous torrents deſcending with dreadful noiſe from their open ſides, or to rivers, ſtreams, fountains, and boiling ſprings; all of them ſpreading their refreſhing ſhade over the plains that ſurround them, and affording them a ſucceſſive ſhelter againſt the heat of the ſun, from the moment that luminary gilds their tops at the time of its riſing, till that of its ſetting: at this aſpect, I ſay, every man is fixt with aſtoniſhment, and the inquirer into nature is led into reflections.

He aſks himſelf, who it is that hath given birth here to Veſuvius, to Ætna, to the Appenines, and here to the Cordeleirias? Theſe mountains, are they as old as the world, have they been produced in an inſtant, or is the ſtony particle that is detached from them more ancient than they are? Can they be the bones of a ſkeleton, of which the other terreſtrial ſubſtances are the fleſh? Are they diſtinct maſſes; or do they hold together by one great common trunk, of which they are ſo many branches, and which ſerves as a foundation to themſelves, and as a baſis for every thing that covers them?

If we agree with one philoſopher: "The centre of "the earth being occupied by an immenſe reſervoir of "waters, the ſubſtance that contained them ſuddenly "burſt. The cataracts of the ſky were immediately "opened, and the whole globe was confounded and "ſunk under water. The fabulous account of chaos "was renewed; and the earth did not begin to extricate itſelf from this ſtate, till the time when the different materials precipitated, according to the laws "of gravity, by which they were ſucceſſively impelled; the layers of theſe ſeveral heterogeneous ſubſtances were heaped one upon another, and raiſed "their ſummits above the ſurface of the waters, which "went to dig a bed for themſelves in the plains."

Another philoſopher obſerves: "That theſe cauſes "are inſufficient to explain this phenomenon, without "the intervention and approach of a comet, which he "calls forth from the vaſt regions of ſpace where "theſe bodies loſe themſelves. The column of waters, "he ſays, which this comet drew along with it, "was joined by thoſe which roſe from the ſubterranean "abyſs, and thoſe which deſcended from the atmoſphere. "The action of the comet made them riſe "above the higheſt mountains, which were already "exiſting; and from the ſediment of this deluge they "were reproduced."

A third writer treats all theſe opinions as idle dreams, and ſays: "Let us caſt our eyes around us, "and we ſhall ſee the mountains riſing from the very "element that deſtroys them. It is fire which hardens "the ſoft layers of the earth; it is that which, aſſiſted "in its expanſion by air and by water, throws "them up, and drives their ſummits into the clouds; "it is that which burſts them, and forms their immenſe "caldrons. Every mountain is a volcano, "which is either preparing, or hath ceaſed."

Theſe opinions are again contradicted by a moſt eloquent modern writer, the charms of whoſe language, while I liſten to it, ſcarce leave me at liberty to judge of his opinion. He ſays: "In the beginning "there were no mountains. The ſurface of the globe "was uniformly covered with waters, which were not, "however, in a ſtate of reſt. The action of the ſatellite "that accompanies the earth agitated them, even "to their greateſt depth, with the motion of ebb and "flow which we now ſee impreſſed upon them. At "each oſcillatory motion, theſe waters dragged along "with them a portion of ſediment, which they depoſited "upon a preceding portion. It is upon theſe depoſits, "continued through a long ſeries of ages, that "the layers of the earth have been formed; and the "enormous maſſes that aſtoniſh us, are theſe layers "accumulated. Time is nothing to nature; and the "ſlighteſt cauſe, acting uninterruptedly, is capable of "producing the greateſt effects. The imperceptible "and continued action of the waters hath therefore "formed the mountains; and it is the ſtill more im- "perceptible, and not leſs continued, action of a va- "pour that ſoftens them, and of a wind that dries "them up, which lowers them from day to day, and "will at length reduce them to a level with the "plains. Then the waters will again be ſpread uni- "formly over the equal ſurface of the earth. Then "the firſt phenomenon will be renewed; and who "knows how often the mountains have been deſtroy- "ed and reproduced?"

At theſe words the obſerver Lehmann ſmiles, and, preſenting to me the book of the Jewiſh Legiſlator, together with his own, ſays to me: "Reſpect this "book, and condeſcend to caſt thine eyes upon mine." Lehmann hath explained, in his third volume of his Art of Mines, his ideas upon the formation of the layers of the earth, and upon the productions of mountains. His ſyſtem is founded on conſtant and repeated obſervations made by himſelf, with a very uncommon degree of ſagacity, and with a labour, the aſſiduity of which we can ſcarce conceive. They comprehend the ſpace from the frontiers of Poland to the borders of the Rhine. The analogy which renders them applicable to ſeveral other regions, recommends the knowledge of them to men who are ſtudious of natural hiſtory; and although he attributes the formation of the layers of the earth to a deluge, the facts with which he ſupports his arguments are not the leſs certain, nor his diſcoveries the leſs intereſting.

He diſtinguiſhes three kinds of mountains. The antediluvian, or primitive; the poſtdiluvian, and the modern. The firſt, which are of different elevation, are the higheſt. They are ſeldom found diſtinct, but are uſually formed into chains. The declivity of them is ſteep. They are ſurrounded on all ſides by the poſtdiluvian mountains, or ſuch as are compoſed of layers. The ſubſtance of them is more homogeneous; the portions of them leſs different; their beds are always perpendicular, and thicker. Their roots deſcend to a depth which is ſtill unknown. The ores they contain run in the longitudinal direction of the mountain. Thoſe in the poſtdiluvian mountains are diſpoſed in layers, which are formed of different ſubſtances. The laſt of theſe, or that which is at the baſis, is always of coal. The firſt, or that which is neareſt the ſummit, always furniſhes ſalt ſprings. The mountains never fail to terminate in the former. They ſupply copper, lead, quickſilver, iron, and even ſilver, but in leaves, and capillaceous. But they would deceive our avidity, if we expected to find gold in them. The mountains which produce this metal are the work of a deluge.

The modern mountains, produced by fire, by water, and by an infinite number of various and recent accidents, exhibit, in their internal parts, nothing but broken layers, a confuſed mixture of all kinds of ſubſtances, and all the marks of ſubverſion and diſorder.

It is in vain that nature had concealed the precious metals in the midſt of theſe hard and moſt compact maſſes: our cupidity hath broken them. This circumſtance, however, would not call for our cenſure, if we could ſay of the men employed in theſe dreadful labours, what we read of them in Caſſiodorus: "They "go down poor into the mines, and come out of them "wealthy. They enjoy a kind of riches which no "man dares to take away from them. They are the "only perſons whoſe fortune is neither ſullied by rapine or meanneſs."

Europeans, reflect upon what this judicious writer adds: "To acquire gold by ſacrificing men, is a crime. "To go in ſearch of it acroſs the perils of the ſea, is "a folly. To amaſs it by corruption and vices, is "baſe. The only profits that are juſt and honeſt, are "thoſe that are acquired without injury to any perſon; and we never can poſſeſs, without remorſe, "what we have obtained at the expence of other "men's happineſs."

And you, in order to have gold, you have gone acroſs the ſeas. In order to have gold, you have invaded other countries. In order to have gold, you have maſſacred the greateſt part of the inhabitants. In order to have gold, you have precipitated into the bowels of the earth thoſe whom your daggers had ſpared. In order to have gold, you have introduced upon the earth the infamous trade of mankind and ſlavery. In order to have gold, you repeat the ſame crimes every day. May the chimerical idea of Lazarro Moro be realized; and may ſubterraneous flames ſet on fire at once all thoſe mountains of which you have made ſo many dungeons, where innocence expires, for ſeveral ages paſt!

Natural organization of Peru, properly ſo called.

This curſe would firſt fall upon the Cordeleirias, or Andes, which cut almoſt the whole of America through its length, and the different branches of which extend themſelves irregularly in its breadth. It is particularly under the Line, and at Peru, that theſe mountains awe us by their majeſtic appearance. Through the enormous heaps of ſnow that cover the moſt conſiderable of them, it may eaſily be diſcerned that they formerly were volcanos. The clouds of ſmoke, and guſts of flame, which ſtill iſſue from ſome of them, cannot allow us to have the leaſt doubt reſpecting the eruptions. Chimboraco, the higheſt of them, and which is near three thouſand two hundred and twenty toiſes above the level of the ſea, is more than one third higher than the Peak of Teneriff, the loftieſt mountain of the ancient hemiſphere. The Pitchincha and the Caraçon, which have principally ſerved for taking the obſervations upon the figure of the earth, have only two thouſand four hundred and thirty, and two thouſand four hundred and ſeventy toiſes; and it is, however, at this height, that the moſt intrepid travellers have been obliged to ſtop. Eternal ſnows have hitherto rendered ſummits of greater height inacceſſible.

A plain, which is from thirty to fifty leagues in breadth, and is raiſed one thouſand nine hundred and forty-nine toiſes above the level of the ocean, ſerves as the baſis to theſe aſtoniſhing mountains. Part of this vaſt ſpace is occupied by lakes more or leſs conſiderable. That of Titicaca, which receives ten or twelve large rivers, and ſeveral ſmall ones, is ſeventy toiſes in depth, and fourſcore leagues in circumference. In the midſt of it there riſes an iſland, where the legiſlators of Peru pretended to have received their birth. They owed it, as they ſaid, to the Sun, who had preſcribed to them to eſtabliſh his worſhip, to raiſe mankind from a ſtate of barbariſm, and to give them beneficent laws. This fable rendered the ſpot venerable; and one of the moſt auguſt temples in the empire was conſtructed upon it. Pilgrims reſorted to it in crowds from the provinces, with offerings of gold, ſilver, and jewels. It is a tradition generally received in the country, that, at the arrival of the Spaniards, the prieſts and the inhabitants threw all theſe riches into the waters, as they had before done at Cuſco, in another lake, ſix leagues to the ſouth of that celebrated capital. From moſt of the lakes there are torrents iſſuing; which, in proceſs of time, have digged ravines of a tremendous depth. At the ſummit of them the mines are uſually found in a ſoil generally arid. It is a little below this that the corn grows, and the cattle feed: in the bottom, the ſugar, the fruits, and the maize, are cultivated.

The coaſt, which is of an immenſe length, and from eight to twenty leagues in breadth, which extends from the plain we have been ſpeaking of to the ſea, and which is known to us by the name of the Valleys, is nothing but a heap of ſand. Solitude and eternal barrenneſs ſeem as if they were intended to belong to this ungrateful ſoil.

Nature varies, and in a very remarkable manner, in this uneven territory. The moſt elevated places are perpetually covered with ſnow. After this come the rocks and naked ſands. Beneath theſe ſome moſſes begin to ſhow themſelves. Lower down is the Icho, a plant which they burn, ſomewhat reſembling ruſhes; and which grows longer and ſtronger in proportion as one deſcends. At length the trees make their appearance; to the number of three ſpecies, particular to theſe mountains; and which, all of them, announce, in their ſtructure and their foliage, the ſeverity of the climate that produces them. The moſt uſeful of theſe trees is the caſſis. It is weighty, hath ſome ſubſtance, and is laſting; and theſe qualities have occaſioned it to be deſtined to the labours of the mines. Theſe large vegetable productions are not to be met with under a milder ſky, and they are only replaced by a ſmall number of others of a different quality. There would not even be any one ſpecies in the valleys, if ſome had not been conveyed there, which have become naturalized.

Circumſtances in which the mountains, plains, and valleys of Peru differ from each other.

In this region, the air hath an evident influence upon the conſtitution of the inhabitants. Thoſe of the moſt elevated diſtricts are ſubject to aſthmas, pleuriſies, to pulmonary complaints, and to rheumatiſms. Theſe diſeaſes, which are dangerous to all individuals that are ſeized with them, are commonly mortal to any one that hath contracted venereal maladies, or is addicted to ſtrong liquors; and this is unfortunately the uſual ſtate of thoſe who are born in theſe climates, or have been led into them by avarice.

Theſe calamities do not affect the inferior mountains; but other ſcourges, ſtill more fatal, are ſubſtituted to them. Putrid and intermittent fevers, unknown in the countries we have been mentioning, are habitual there. They are ſo eaſily caught, that travellers are afraid to come near the places that are infected with them. They are frequently ſo contagious, that not a ſingle man would eſcape the infection, if the inhabitants did not abandon their villages, in order to return to them again when a freſh ſeaſon hath purified them. It was not thus in the time of the Incas. But ſince the Spaniards have introduced the ſugar canes into the narrow gorges of the mountains, where the air circulates with difficulty, there ariſe, from the moiſtened ſoil which this cultivation requires, infectious vapours, which, being heated by the rays of the burning ſun, become fatal.

The tertian, and other intermittent fevers, are ſcarce leſs common or leſs obſtinate in the valleys than in the gorges of the mountains: but they are infinitely leſs dangerous: they are ſeldom attended with fatal conſequences, except in the country places where no helps are to be had, and where precautions are neglected.

Another general malady in this part of the New World, is the ſmall-pox, which was brought there in 1588. It is not habitual, as in Europe; but it occaſions, at intervals, inexpreſſible ravages. It attacks, indifferently, the white men, the Negroes, the Indians, and the mixed races. It is equally deſtructive in all the climates. Much advantage is to be expected from the practice of inoculation, introduced two years ſince at Lima, and which will undoubtedly ſoon become general.

There is another ſcourge prevailing here, againſt which human invention will never find a remedy. Earthquakes, which in other countries are ſo rare, that whole generations frequently ſucceed each other without beholding one, are ſo common in Peru, that they have there contracted an habit of reckoning them as a ſeries of epochas, ſo much the more memorable, as their frequent return does not diminiſh their violence.

This phenomenon, which is ever irregular in its ſudden returns, is, however, announced by very perceptible omens. When the ſhock is conſiderable, it is preceded by a murmur in the air, the noiſe of which is like that of heavy rain falling from a cloud that ſuddenly burſts and diſcharges its waters. This noiſe ſeems to be the effect of a vibration of the air, which is agitated in different directions. The birds are then obſerved to dart in their flight. Neither their tails nor their wings ſerve them any longer as oars and helm to ſwim in the fluid of the ſkies. They daſh themſelves in pieces againſt the walls, the trees, and the rocks; whether it be that this vertigo of nature dazzles and confuſes them, or that the vapours of the earth take away their ſtrength and power to command their movements.

To this tumult in the air is added the rumbling of the earth, the cavities and deep receſſes of which re-echo each other's noiſes. The dogs anſwer theſe previous tokens of a general diſorder of nature, by howling in an extraordinary manner. The animals ſtop, and, by a natural inſtinct, ſpread out their legs that they may not fall. Upon theſe indications, the inhabitants inſtantly run out of their houſes, and fly to ſearch, in the encloſures of public places, or in the fields, an aſylum from the fall of their roofs. The cries of children, the lamentations of women, the ſudden darkneſs of an unexpected night; every thing combines to aggravate the too real evils of a dire calamity, which ſubverts every thing, by the excruciating tortures of the imagination, which is diſtreſſed and confounded, and loſes, in the contemplation of this diſorder, the thought and courage to remedy it.

The diverſity of aſpects under which volcanos have preſented themſelves to one of our moſt indefatigable and intelligent obſervers, hath pointed out to him different periods, ſeparated from each other by intervals of time ſo conſiderable, that the firſt formation of our planet is thrown back by them to a degree of antiquity at which our imagination is ſtartled. At the firſt of theſe periods, the volcanos throw out from their ſummits fire, ſmoke, and aſhes, and pour out torrents of lava from their ſides that are laid open. At the ſecond, they are all of them extinguiſhed, and exhibit nothing but an immenſe caldron. At the third, the air, the rain, the wind, the cold, and the lime, have deſtroyed the caldron, or crater, and nothing but a hillock remains. At the fourth period, this hillock, deprived of its covering, diſcovers a kind of nidus, which, being deſtroyed by time, leaves nothing but the place where the mountain and volcano have exiſted; and this ſtate conſtitutes a fifth period. From the centre of this place cauſeways of lava are extended to a diſtance; and theſe cauſeways, whether entire or broken, or reduced into ſeparate fragments, are ſtill as many other periods, between each of which we may inſert as many years, as many ages, or as many thouſands of ages as we chooſe. One thing, however, is certain, that one of theſe periods, whichever of them we may chooſe, is not connected, in the memory of man, with that which ſucceeds it in the courſe of nature. The principle, therefore, that from nothing nothing can be produced; and the deſtruction of beings, which, by being changed into others, ſhow us that nothing is annihilated, ſeem to announce an eternity which hath preceded, an eternity which will follow, and the co-exiſtence of the Great Architect with his wonderful work.

The climate exhibits ſome very remarkable ſingularities in the Upper Peru. The inhabitants experience on the ſame day, ſometimes in the ſame hour, and always in a very ſhort ſpace of time, the temperature of the two oppoſite zones. Thoſe who come there from the valleys, are pierced on their arrival with ſevere cold, which they cannot get the better of either by fire, by motion, or by adding to their clothing; but the impreſſion of which ceaſes to be diſagreeable, after a reſidence of a month or three weeks. The voyagers who come there for the firſt time, are tormented with the ſymptoms of ſea ſickneſs, with more or leſs violence, in proportion as they have ſuffered from it on the ocean. But, whatever may be the reaſon of it, men are not expoſed to this accident in all parts; for not one of the aſtronomers who meaſured the figure of the earth upon the mountains of Quito, were attacked with it.

Our aſtoniſhment is equally, if not more, excited in the valleys. This country, though very near the equator, enjoys a delicious temperature. The four ſeaſons of the year are evidently marked, and yet neither of them can be called troubleſome. The winter ſeaſon is the moſt ſenſibly felt. This hath been attempted to be accounted for from the winds of the ſouth pole, which carry the effects of the ſnows and ice over which they have paſſed. They preſerve it only in part, becauſe they blow under the influence of a thick fog, which at that time covers the earth. Theſe groſs vapours do not indeed riſe regularly till about noon; but it is ſeldom they are diſſipated. The ſun generally remains ſo much clouded, that its rays, which ſometimes make their appearance, can only mitigate the cold in a very ſlight degree.

Whatever may be the cauſe of ſo conſtant a winter under the torrid zone, it is certain that it never rains, or that it rains only every two or three years, in the Lower Peru.

Natural philoſophy hath exerted its efforts to diſcover the cauſe of a phenomenon ſo extraordinary. May it not be attributed to the ſouth-weſt wind, which prevails there the greateſt part of the year; and to the prodigious height of the mountains, the ſummit of which is covered with eternal ice?

The country ſituated between both, being continually cooled on one ſide, and continually heated on the other, maintains ſo equal a temperature, that the clouds which riſe can never be condenſed ſo far as to be diſſolved into water.

Rains, however, and even daily rains, would be neceſſary to communicate ſome degree of fertility to the coaſts which extend from Tumbez to Lima, that is, throughout a ſpace of two hundred and ſixty-four leagues. The ſands are in general ſo barren, that there is not a ſingle herb to be ſeen, except in parts which it is poſſible to water, and theſe do not often occur. There is not a ſingle ſpring throughout the whole of Lower Peru; rivers are not frequent there; and thoſe which we do meet with have, for the moſt part, water in them only for ſix or ſeven months in the year. They are torrents iſſuing from the lakes, of greater or leſs magnitude, that are formed in the Cordeleirias, which only flow over a ſmall ſpace, and are dried up during the ſummer. In the times of the Incas, theſe precious waters were carefully collected, and, by the aſſiſtance of ſeveral canals, diſperſed over a large ſurface, which they fertilized. The Spaniards have availed themſelves of theſe labours. Their villages and towns have been erected on the places where the huts for the Indians were, which, perhaps for this reaſon; were leſs numerous in the Lower Peru than on the mountains. The valleys which lead from the capital of the empire to Chili, have a great reſemblance with thoſe we have ſpoken of; but they are in ſome places more ſuſceptible of cultivation.

The few Peruvians who have eſcaped the ſword or tyranny of the conquerors, are fallen into the moſt degraded and brutal ſtate.

Notwithſtanding theſe defects of natural organization, the region we have been deſcribing hath ſeen a flouriſhing empire ariſe in the midſt of it. Its population cannot reaſonably be called in queſtion, when we behold ſelf-evident proofs that this happy people had covered with their colonies all the provinces that they had conquered; when we attend to the aſtoniſhing number of men engaged in the ſervice of government, and deriving their ſubſiſtence from the ſtate. Such a variety of hands and levers employed in moving the political machine, neceſſarily imply a conſiderable degree of population, that may be enabled to maintain, with the productions of the earth, a very numerous claſs of the inhabitants, who are not themſelves concerned in agriculture.

By what fatality, then, hath it happened that Peru is now ſuch a deſert? By tracing things to their origin, we find that thoſe who conquered the coaſt of the South Sea, being ruffians, without birth, education, and principle, originally committed greater enormities than the conquerors of Mexico. The mother-country was a longer time before ſhe checked their ferocity, which was continually fomented by thoſe long and cruel civil wars that ſucceeded the conqueſt. A more heavy and regular ſyſtem of oppreſſion was afterwards eſtabliſhed than had prevailed in the other countries of the New World leſs diſtant from Europe.

Univerſal diſcouragement was the neceſſary conſequence of this abominable conduct. Accordingly, the natives of the country grew diſguſted of the ſtate of ſociety, and of the fatigues it brings along with it. They continue in the ſame diſagreeable diſpoſitions, and would not even give themſelves the leaſt trouble to cultivate ſubſiſtence for themſelves, were they not compelled to it by the government. This compulſion influences their behaviour. All the inhabitants of one community, men, women, and children, unite themſelves to till and ſow a field. Theſe labours, which are interrupted every inſtant by dancing and feaſting, are carried on by the ſound of various inſtruments. The harveſt of the maize, and of the other grain, is gathered with the ſame careleſſneſs, and accompanied with the ſame pleaſures. Theſe people are not more anxious to procure themſelves clothes. In vain hath it been attempted to inſpire them with better diſpoſitions, and more ſuitable to the good of the empire. Authority hath been unavailing againſt cuſtoms which its tyranny had given riſe to, and which were kept up by its injuſtice.

The Peruvians, all of them without exception, are an inſtance of that profound ſtupidity into which it is in the power of tyranny to plunge men. They are fallen into a liſtleſs and univerſal indifference. Can it be poſſible that theſe people ſhould have any kind of attachment, whoſe religion once elevated the ſoul, and from whom the moſt abject ſlavery hath taken away every ſentiment of greatneſs and glory? The riches, which nature hath ſcattered at their feet, do not tempt them; and they are even inſenſible to honours. They are whatever one chooſes, without any ill humour, or choice, vaſſals or caciques, or *mitayos*, the objects of diſtinction or of public deriſion. The ſpring of all their paſſions is broken. That of fear itſelf hath often no effect on them, through the little attachment they have to life. They intoxicate themſelves, and dance; theſe are all the pleaſures they have, when they are able to forget their miſery. Indolence is their predominant habit. *I am not hungry*, they ſay to the perſon who would pay them for their labour.

The void that had been made in the population of Peru, and the indolence of the few men that remained there, determined the conquerors to introduce a foreign race; but this mode of ſubſtitution, which was dictated by the refinement of European barbarity, was more prejudicial to Africa than uſeful to the country of the Incas. Avarice did not derive from theſe new ſlaves all the advantages it had flattered itſelf with. The government, ever intent on laying taxes upon vices and virtues, upon induſtry and idleneſs, upon good and bad projects, upon the liberty of exerciſing oppreſſions, and the permiſſion of being exempted from them, made a monopoly of this baſe traffic. It was neceſſary to receive the Negroes from the hands of a rival or an enemy, to carry them to the place of their deſtination, through immenſe ſeas and unwholeſome climates, and to defray the expences of ſeveral very dear markets. Nevertheleſs, this ſpecies of men hath multiplied more at Peru than at Mexico. There is alſo a much greater number of Spaniards there, for the following reaſons:

At the time when the firſt conqueſts were made, when emigrations were moſt frequent, the country of the Incas had a much greater reputation for riches than New Spain; and, in reality, for half a century, much more conſiderable treaſures were brought away from it. The deſire of partaking of them muſt neceſſarily draw thither, as was really the caſe, a greater number of Caſtilians. Though they almoſt all went over there with the hope of returning to their country to enjoy the fortune they might acquire, yet the majority of them ſettled in the colony. They were induced to this by the ſoftneſs of the climate, and the goodneſs of the proviſions. They alſo ſuppoſed they ſhould enjoy a great ſhare of independence in a region ſo remote from the mother-country.

Preſent ſtate of Peru.

We muſt now examine to what degree of proſperity Peru hath been raiſed by the united labours of ſo many different people.

The immenſe coaſt that extends from Panama to

Tombez, and which, in 1718, was detached from Peru to be incorporated in the New Kingdom, is one of the moſt miſerable regions of the globe. A great part of it is occupied by ſpacious and numerous moraſſes. The part that is not covered with theſe is deluged for ſix months in the year with rains that fall down in torrents. From the midſt of theſe ſtagnating and unwholeſome waters foreſts ariſe, that are as ancient as the world, and ſo much choked up with *lianes*, or oſiers, that the ſtrongeſt and moſt intrepid man cannot penetrate into them. Thick and frequent fogs throw a dark veil over theſe hideous countries. None of the productions of the Old Hemiſphere can grow in this ungrateful ſoil, and thoſe even of the New Hemiſphere do not thrive much. And, indeed, there is but a ſmall number of ſavages to be ſeen here, and thoſe for the moſt part wandering; and ſo few Spaniards, that it might almoſt be ſaid there were none. The coaſt is fortunately terminated by the Gulf of Guayaquil, where nature is in a leſs degenerate ſtate.

The ſecond town which the Spaniards built in Peru was raiſed upon this river, in 1533. The Indians did not long ſuffer this monument, erected againſt their liberty, to ſubſiſt; but it was rebuilt four years after by Orellana. It was not placed in the Bay of Charopte as it had been at firſt. The back of a mountain, at the diſtance of five or ſix hundred toiſes from the river, was preferred. The exigencies of commerce afterwards determined the merchants to fix their dwellings upon the ſide of the river itſelf. The ſpace which ſeparated them from their former habitation hath been gradually filled up; ſo that at preſent the two quarters of the town are entirely united. The houſes are in general built of wood, both in the lower and in the upper town. Formerly they were all covered with thatch; but this practice hath been aboliſhed gradually by the orders of government, who have thought this regulation neceſſary, to prevent the accidents of fire, ſo common in theſe countries. Guayaquil was lately an entirely open place. It is at preſent defended by three forts, guarded only by the inhabitants. Theſe are large beams diſpoſed in paliſades. Upon this ſoil, which is always damp, and under water a great part of the year, a ſort of wood, which never rots, is preferable to the beſt conſtructed works either in earth or in ſtone.

It is a circumſtance well known at preſent, that, on the coaſt of Guayaquil, as well as on that of Guatimala, are found thoſe ſnails which yield the purple dye ſo celebrated by the ancients, and which the moderns have ſuppoſed to have been loſt. The ſhell that contains them is fixed to rocks that are watered by the ſea. It is of the ſize of a large nut. The juice may be extracted from the animal in two ways. Some perſons kill the animal after they have taken it out of the ſhell; they then preſs it from the head to the tail with a knife; and, ſeparating from the body that part in which the liquor is collected, they throw away the reſt. When this operation, repeated upon ſeveral of the ſnails, hath yielded a certain quantity of the juice, the thread that is to be dyed is dipped in it, and the buſineſs is done. The colour, which is at firſt as white as milk, becomes afterwards green, and does not turn to purple till the thread is dry.

Thoſe who do not chooſe this method, draw the animal partly out of its ſhell, and by preſſure oblige it to diſcharge its liquor. This operation is repeated four different times, but at each time with leſs advantage. If it be continued, the animal dies, from the loſs of that fluid which was the principle of its life, and which it hath no longer the power to renew.

We know of no colour that can be compared to the one we have been ſpeaking of, either in luſtre or in permanency. It ſucceeds better with cotton than with woollen, linen, or ſilk.

It is little more than an object of curioſity; but Guayaquil ſupplies the neighbouring provinces with oxen, mules, ſalt, and fiſh. It furniſhes a great quantity of cacao to Mexico and to Europe. It is the univerſal dock-yard of the South Sea, and might partly become that of the mother-country. We know of no ſpot upon the earth more abundant in wood for maſts and for ſhip-building. The hemp and the pitch, which it is deſtitute of, is procured from Chili and from Guatimala.

This town is the neceſſary ſtaple of all the trade which the Lower Peru, Panama, and Mexico, keep up with the country of Quito. All the commodities which theſe countries exchange paſs through the hands of its merchants. The largeſt of the ſhips ſtop at the iſland of Puna, ſix or ſeven leagues diſtant from the place. The others can go thirty-five leagues up the river, as far as Caracol.

Notwithſtanding theſe ſeveral means of proſperity, Guayaquil, the population of which conſiſts of twenty thouſand ſouls, is far from being wealthy. The fortunes of its inhabitants have been ſucceſſively deſtroyed nine times, by fires, and by pirates, who have twice ſacked the town. Thoſe fortunes which have been acquired ſince theſe fatal periods, have not continued in the country. A climate where the heat is intolerable the whole year, and the rains inceſſant for ſix months; where dangerous and noiſome inſects do not allow any tranquillity; where diſtempers, prevailing in the moſt oppoſite degrees of temperature, appear to be united; where one lives in perpetual dread of loſing one's ſight; ſuch a climate is by no means proper to fix the reſidence of its inhabitants. Such perſons are only ſeen here as have not acquired ſufficient wealth to enable them to remove elſewhere, and ſpend their days in indolence and pleaſure.

On quitting the territory of Guayaquil, we enter into the valleys of Peru. They occupy four hundred leagues of the coaſt; and upon this extent there are a great number of bad harbours, among which chance hath placed one or two that are tolerably good. Throughout this vaſt ſpace, there is not the veſtige of a ſingle road; and it is neceſſary to travel over it upon mules in the night-time, becauſe the reverberation of the ſun renders theſe ſands unpaſſable in the day.

At the intervals of thirty or forty leagues, we find the ſmall towns of Piura, of Peyta, of Santa, of Piſco, of Naſcar, of Ica, of Moquequa, and of Arica, and in the intermediate ſpace a ſmall number of hamlets and villages. Throughout this whole extent there are but three places worthy of being called towns; Truxillo, which hath nine thouſand inhabitants; Arequipa, which hath forty thouſand; and Lima, which hath fifty-four thouſand. Theſe ſeveral ſettlements have been formed wherever there was the leaſt appearance of land fit for cultivation, and wherever the waters were capable of fertilizing a ſlime naturally barren.

The country produces the fruits peculiar to the climate, and moſt of thoſe in Europe. The culture of maize, of pimento, and of cotton, which was found eſtabliſhed there, was not neglected: and that of wheat, barley, caſſava, potatoes, ſugar, and of the olive and vine, was ſet on foot there. The goat hath thriven very well; but the ſheep have degenerated, and their wool is extremely coarſe. Throughout the whole of the valleys there is but one mine, which is that of Huantajaha.

In the Upper Peru, at the diſtance of one hundred and twenty leagues from the ſea, ſtands Cuſco, built by the firſt of the Incas, on a very uneven territory, and upon the declivity of ſeveral hills. It was at firſt only a ſmall village, which in proceſs of time became a conſiderable city, divided into as many quarters as there were nations incorporated with the empire. Each of theſe nations were allowed to follow their ancient cuſtoms; but they were all of them obliged to worſhip the brilliant conſtellation that fertilizes the globe. There was no edifice that had any grandeur, elegance, or convenience, becauſe the people were ignorant of the firſt elements of architecture. Even the temple of the ſun itſelf could not be diſtinguiſhed from the other public or private buildings, unleſs by its extent, and by the profuſion of metals with which it was ornamented.

To the north of this capital was a kind of citadel, built with much care, labour, and expence. The Spaniards long ſpoke of this monument of Peruvian induſtry with a ſpirit of admiration that impoſed upon all Europe. The ruins of this fortreſs have been ſeen by enlightened perſons, and the marvellous hath diſappeared. It hath been found, that this fortification had ſcarce any advantage over the other works of the ſame kind erected in the country, except that of being built with ſtones of a more conſiderable ſize.

At the diſtance of four leagues from the city are the country-houſes of the great, and of the Incas, in the wholeſome and delicious valley of Yucai. There it was that they went to recover their health, or to relax from the fatigues of government.

After the conqueſt, the place ſcarce preſerved any thing but its name. There were other edifices, other inhabitants, other occupations, other manners, other prejudices, and another religion. Thus the fatality which ſubverts the earth, the ſea, empires, and nations; which throws ſucceſſively upon all parts of the globe the light of the arts and the darkneſs of ignorance; which changes the reſidence of men, and transfers their opinions from one place to another, as marine productions are puſhed upon the coaſt by the impulſe of the winds and the currents: that impenetrable and ſingular deſtiny, I ſay, ordained that Europeans, with all the appendages of their crimes, and monks, with all the prejudices of their faith, ſhould come to reign and repoſe in thoſe walls, where the virtuous Incas had for ſo long a time promoted the felicity of mankind, and where the ſun was ſo ſolemnly adored. Who, therefore, can foreſee what kind of race, or form of worſhip, will one day ariſe upon the ruins of our kingdoms and our altars? Cuſco reckons twenty-ſix thouſand inhabitants under its new maſters.

In the midſt of theſe mountains other towns are ſtill to be ſeen. Chupuiſaca, or La Plata, which hath thirteen thouſand ſouls; Potoſi, twenty-five thouſand; Oropeſa, ſeventeen thouſand; La Paz, twenty thouſand; Guancavelica, eight thouſand; and Huamanga, eighteen thouſand five hundred.

But let it be well obſerved, that none of theſe towns were erected in regions which preſented a fertile ſoil, copious harveſts, excellent paſtures, a mild and ſalubrious climate, and all the conveniences of life. Theſe places, which had hitherto been ſo well cultivated by a numerous and flouriſhing people, were now totally diſregarded. Very ſoon they exhibited only a deplorable picture of a horrid deſert; and this wildneſs muſt have been more melancholy and hideous than the dreary aſpect of the earth before the origin of ſocieties. The ſight of confuſion is not always diſpleaſing; it ſometimes aſtoniſhes: that of deſtruction afflicts us. The traveller, who was led by accident or curioſity into theſe deſolate plains, could not forbear abhorring the barbarous and bloody authors of theſe devaſtations, while he reflected that it was not owing even to the cruel illuſions of glory, and to the fanaticiſm of conqueſt, but to the ſtupid and abject deſire of gold, that they had ſacrificed ſo much more real treaſure, and ſo numerous a population.

This inſatiable thirſt of gold, which neither attended to ſubſiſtence, ſafety, nor policy, was the only motive for eſtabliſhing new ſettlements, ſome of which have been kept up, while ſeveral have decayed, and others have been formed in their ſtead. The fate of them all hath correſponded with the diſcovery, progreſs, or decay of the mines to which they were ſubordinate.

Fewer errors have been committed in the means of procuring proviſions. The natives had hitherto lived ſcarcely on any thing elſe but maize, fruits, and pulſe, for which they had uſed no other ſeaſoning except ſalt and pimento. Their liquors, which were made from different roots, were more diverſified; of theſe the *chica* was the moſt uſual; it is made from maize ſoaked in water, and taken out of the veſſel when it begins to ſprout. It is dried in the ſun, then parched a little, and at laſt ground. The flour, after it has been well kneaded, is put with water into large pitchers. The fermentation may be expected in two or three days, and muſt not continue longer. The great inconvenience of this drink, which, when uſed immoderately, infallibly intoxicates, is, that it will not keep more than ſeven or eight days without turning ſour. Its taſte is nearly that of the moſt indifferent kind of cyder.

All the cultivations eſtabliſhed in the empire, were ſolely intended to ſupply articles of primary neceſſity. The only thing cultivated for luxury was the coca; this is a ſhrub which ramifies much, and ſeldom grows higher than three or four feet. Its leaves are alternate, oval, entire, and marked in their longitudinal direction with three coſtæ, two of which are not very apparent. The flowers collected in cluſters along the ſtems, are ſmall, compoſed of a calix, with five diviſions, and five petals, furniſhed at their baſe with a ſcale. The piſtil, ſurrounded with ten ſtamina, and ſurmounted with three ſtiles, is changed into a ſmall, reddiſh, oblong berry, which as it dries becomes triangular, and contains one nut filled with a ſingle kernel.

The leaf of the coca was the delight of the Peruvians. They chewed it, after having mixed it with an earth of a light grey colour, and of a ſaponaceous quality, which they called *Toura;* it was, in their opinion, one of the moſt ſalutary reſtoratives they could take. Their taſte for the coca hath ſo little altered, that, if thoſe among them who are buried in the mines were to be deprived of it, they would ceaſe to work, whatever ſeverities might be employed to compel them to it.

The conquerors were not ſatisfied either with the liquors or with the food of the people they had ſubdued. They naturalized freely, and with ſucceſs, all the corn, all the fruits, and all the quadrupeds of the ancient hemiſphere, in the new one. The mother-country, which had propoſed to ſupply its colonies with wine, oil, and brandy, wiſhed, at firſt, to forbid the culture of the vine and of the olive tree: but it was ſoon found, that it would be impoſſible to convey regularly to Peru articles liable to ſo many accidents, and of ſo conſiderable a bulk; and they were permitted to multiply them there as much as was conſiſtent with the climate and their wants.

After they had provided for a better and a greater choice of ſubſiſtence, the next care of the Spaniards was to have a dreſs more commodious and more agreeable than that of the Peruvians. Theſe were, however, better clothed than any other American nation. They owed this ſuperiority to the advantage which they alone poſſeſſed, of having the lama and the pacos, domeſtic animals, which ſerve them for this uſe.

Singularities reſpecting the lama, the pacos, the guanco, and the vicuna.

The lama is an animal four feet high, and five or ſix in length; of which its neck alone takes up one half. Its head is well made, with large eyes, a long ſnout, and thick lips. Its mouth hath no inciſors in the upper jaw. Its feet are cloven like thoſe of the ox, but furniſhed with a ſpur behind, which enables it to faſten itſelf on the ſides of ſteep places, where it delights to climb. Its wool, which is ſhort on its back, but grows long on its ſides and under the belly, conſtitutes part of its uſefulneſs. Though very ſalacious, theſe animals copulate with great difficulty. In vain the female proſtitutes herſelf to receive the male, and invites him by her ſighs; they are ſometimes a whole day groaning, grumbling, and ineffectually attempting enjoyment, if men do not help them to fulfil the deſire of nature. Thus ſeveral of our domeſtic animals, that are confined, broken, forced, and reſtrained in all their freeſt motions and ſenſations, loſe, through ineffectual efforts, the principles of generation while they are confined in ſtables, if care and attention do not ſupply the place of that liberty of which they have been deprived. The females of the lama have only two dugs, never more than two young, commonly but one, which follows the dam immediately after its birth; it is of a very quick growth, and its life of a ſhort duration. At three years old it propagates its ſpecies, preſerves its vigour till twelve, then decays, and dies about the age of fifteen.

The lamas are employed as mules, in carrying on their backs loads of about a hundred weight. They move with a ſlow but firm pace at the rate of four or five leagues a-day, in countries that are impracticable to other animals; deſcending through gullies, and climbing up rocks, where men cannot follow them. After four or five days journey, they reſt of their own accord for twenty-four hours.

Nature hath formed them for the people of that climate where they are produced, mild, regular, and phlegmatic, like the Peruvians. When they ſtop, they bend their knees and ſtoop their body in ſuch a manner as not to diſcompoſe their burden. As ſoon as they hear their driver whiſtle, they riſe with the ſame care, and proceed on their journey. They browſe on the graſs they find in their way, and chew the cud at night, even when aſleep, reclining on their breaſt, with their feet doubled under their belly. They are neither diſpirited by faſting nor drudgery, while they have any ſtrength remaining; but when they are totally exhauſted or fall under their burden, it is to no purpoſe to haraſs and beat them: they will continue obſtinately ſtriking their heads againſt the ground, till they kill themſelves. They never defend themſelves either with their feet or their teeth; and in the height of their indignation content themſelves with only ſpitting in the face of thoſe who inſult them.

The pacos is to the lama what the aſs is to the horſe, a ſubordinate ſpecies, ſmaller in ſize, with ſhorter legs, and a flat ſnout; but of the ſame diſpoſition, the ſame manners, and the ſame conſtitution, as the lama; made, like the lama, to carry burdens, but more obſtinate in its caprices, perhaps becauſe it is weaker.

Theſe animals are ſo much the more uſeful to man, as their ſervice coſts him nothing. Their thick fur ſupplies the place of a pack-ſaddle. The little graſs which they find along the road ſuffices for their food, and furniſhes them with a plentiful and freſh ſaliva, which exempts them from the neceſſity of drinking.

In the times of the Incas, the people ſhowed a great attachment to theſe uſeful animals, and this ſpirit of benevolence hath been continued. Before they are employed in the labours for which they are adapted, the Peruvians aſſemble their relations, friends, and neighbours. As ſoon as the company are met, dancing and feſtivals begin, which laſt two days and two nights. From time to time the gueſts pay a viſit to the lamas and the pacos, ſpeak to them in the moſt affectionate terms, and beſtow upon them all the careſſes they would upon the perſon that was moſt dear to them. They then begin to make uſe of them, but do not ſtrip them of the ribbands and bands with which their heads are ornamented.

Among the lamas, there are ſome of a wild ſpecies called guanacos, which are ſtronger, more ſprightly, and more nimble, than the domeſtic lamas; running like the ſtag, and climbing like the wild goat, covered with ſhort wool, and of a fawn colour. Though free, they like to collect in herds, to the number ſometimes of two or three hundred. If they ſee a man, they ſurvey him at firſt with an air of greater aſtoniſhment than curioſity; then ſnuffing up the air and neighing, they run all together to the ſummit of the mountains. Theſe animals ſeek the North, travel on the ice, and fix themſelves above the height of the ſnow; they are vigorous, and appear in vaſt numbers on the tops of the Cordeleras; but ſmall in ſize, and ſeldom met with at the bottom of the mountains. When they are hunted for their fleece, if they gain the rocks, neither hunters nor dogs can ever catch them.

The vicunas, a ſpecies of wild pacos, delight ſtill more in the cold, and on the ſummits of mountains. They are ſo timid, that their fear itſelf makes them an eaſy prey to the hunter. Men ſurround them and drive them into narrow defiles, at the end of which they have ſuſpended pieces of cloth or linen, on cords, that are raiſed three or four feet from the ground. Theſe rags, being agitated by the wind, ſtrike ſuch terror into them that they ſtand crowded and ſqueezed one againſt another, ſuffering themſelves to be killed rather than fly. But if there happens to be, among the vicunas, a guanaco, which, being more adventurous, leaps over the cords, they follow it and eſcape.

All theſe animals belong ſo peculiarly to South America, and eſpecially to the higheſt Cordeleras, that they are never ſeen on the ſide of Mexico, where the height of theſe mountains is conſiderably diminiſhed. Attempts have been made to propagate the breed in Europe, but they have all failed. The Spaniards, without reflecting that theſe animals, even in Peru itſelf, ſought the coldeſt parts, have tranſported them to the burning plains of Andaluſia. They might poſſibly have ſucceeded on the Alps or the Pyrenees. This conjecture of M. de Buffon, to whom we are indebted for ſo many uſeful and profound obſervations on animals, is worthy the attention of ſtateſmen, whoſe ſteps ought always to be guided by the lights of philoſophy.

The fleſh of the lamas and pacos may be eaten when they are young. The ſkin of the old ones ſerves the Indians for ſhoes, and the Spaniards for harneſs. The guanacos may alſo ſerve for food. But the vicunas are only ſought after for their fleece, and for the bezoar they produce.

The wool of theſe animals is not equally good. That of the lama and the pacos, which are domeſtic animals, is much inferior to that of the guanaco, and ſtill more to that of the vicuna. There is even a great difference in the ſame animal. The wool of the back is commonly of a clear, light colour, and of moderate quality; under the belly it is white and fine, and white and coarſe upon the thighs. Its price, in Spain, is from four to nine livres [from 3s. 4d. to 4s. 2d.] a pound, according to its quality.

Theſe fleeces were uſefully employed at Peru, before the empire had ſubmitted to a foreign yoke. The inhabitants of Cuſco made tapeſtry of them for the uſe of the court. This tapeſtry was ornamented with flowers, birds, and trees, which were tolerably well imitated. It ſerved alſo to make mantles which were worn over a ſhirt of cotton. It was cuſtomary to tuck them up, in order to have the arms free. The principal people faſtened them with gold and ſilver claſps; their wives with pins made of theſe metals, ornamented at the top with emeralds; and the common people with thorns. In hot countries, the mantles of perſons in office were made of fine cotton, and dyed with various colours. The common people in the ſame climate had no clothing at all, except a girdle that was compoſed of the filaments of the bark of a tree, and ſerved to cover thoſe parts which nature intended ſhould be concealed.

The pride and the habits of the conquerors, which generally made inconvenient or contemptible to them all the cuſtoms eſtabliſhed in the countries upon which their avarice or their fury was exerted, would not allow them to adopt the dreſs of the Peruvians. They required from Europe every thing that country could furniſh moſt complete and moſt magnificent in linens and cottons. In proceſs of time, the treaſures that had been at firſt pillaged, were exhauſted; and it was not poſſible to acquire more, without making conſiderable advances, and without entering upon labours, the profit of which was doubtful. Then theſe extravagancies diminiſhed. The ancient manufactures of cotton, which a ſyſtem of oppreſſion had reduced almoſt to nothing, were revived. Others were ſet on foot of a different kind; and their number hath ſucceſſively increaſed.

With the wool of the vicuna they make, in ſeveral provinces, ſtockings, handkerchiefs, and ſcarfs. This wool, mixed with that of the ſheep imported thither from Europe, which hath exceedingly degenerated, ſerves for carpets, and makes alſo tolerably good cloth.

This laſt kind alone is employed to make ſerges and other coarſe ſtuffs.

The manufactures ſubſervient to luxury are eſtabliſhed at Arequipa, Cuſco, and Lima. From theſe three largeſt towns come all the jewels and diamonds, all the plate for the uſe of private perſons, and alſo for the churches. Theſe manufactures are but coarſely wrought, and mixed with a great deal of copper. There is ſeldom more taſte or perfection diſcovered in their gold, ſilver, and other laces and embroideries, which their manufactures alſo produce.

Other hands are employed in gilding leather, in making, with wood and ivory, pieces of inlaid work and ſculpture, and in drawing figures on the marble that hath been lately found at Cuença, or on linen imported from the Old Hemiſphere. Theſe productions of imperfect art ſerve for ornaments for houſes, palaces, and temples: the drawing of them is not abſolutely bad, but the colours are neither exact nor permanent. This ſpecies of induſtry belongs almoſt excluſively to the Indians ſettled at Cuſco, who are leſs oppreſſed, and leſs degenerated, upon this firſt ſcene of their glory, than throughout the reſt of the empire. If theſe Americans, to whom nature hath denied the genius of invention, but who are excellent imitators, had been ſupplied with able maſters and excellent models, they would have become good copyiſts. At the cloſe of the laſt century, ſome works of a Peruvian painter, named Michael de St. Jaques, were brought to Rome; and the connoiſſeurs diſcovered marks of genius in them.

Theſe deſcriptions excite the complaints of ſome of my readers. I hear them ſay, How can we be intereſted in theſe idle details, with which you have troubled us ſo long? Speak to us of the gold and of the ſilver of Peru. In this ſo diſtant region of the New World, *I have never conſidered, and ſhall never conſider, any thing but theſe metals.* Whoever thou mayeſt be that doſt addreſs thyſelf to me in this manner, avaricious mortal, and deſtitute of taſte, who, when conveyed to Mexico and Peru, wouldſt neither ſtudy the manners nor the cuſtoms, who wouldſt diſdain to caſt a look upon the rivers, the mountains, the foreſts, the fields, the diverſity of climate, and the varieties of fiſh and inſects; but who wouldſt only aſk, where are the golden mines? where are the places in which the gold is wrought? I ſee that thou haſt entered upon the reading of my work with the ſame ſpirit as the ferocious Europeans entered upon theſe rich and unhappy countries; I ſee that thou wert worthy to accompany them, becauſe thy propenſities are the ſame as theirs. Deſcend then into the mines, and meet with thy deſtruction by the ſide of thoſe who work them for thee; and if thou doſt come out of them again, make thyſelf at leaſt acquainted with the criminal ſource of theſe fatal treaſures which thou doſt covet; and mayeſt thou never poſſeſs them hereafter without feeling the pangs of remorſe. May the gold change its colour, and appear to thine eyes as if it were dyed with blood.

Deſcription of the mines of Peru, and particularly thoſe of platina and quickſilver.

In the country of the Incas are found mines of copper, tin, ſulphur, and bitumen, which are generally neglected. Extreme neceſſity hath occaſioned ſome attention to be paid to thoſe of ſalt. This foſſil is cut into large pieces, proportioned to the ſtrength of the lamas and pacos, deſtined to convey it in all the provinces of the empire diſtant from the ocean. This ſalt is of a violet colour, and is ſtreaked with veins of red like the jaſper. It is ſold neither by weight nor meaſure, but in pieces nearly of equal ſize.

A new ſubſtance has been diſcovered lately in theſe regions: this is the platina, ſo called from the Spaniſh word *plata*, from whence the diminutive *platina*, or little ſilver, is made.

This is a metallic ſubſtance, which hath hitherto been brought from the New World into the Old, only in the form of ſmall, pointed, triangular, and very irregular gravel, like the coarſe filings of iron. Its colour is that of a white between that of ſilver and iron, partaking a little of the tenacity of lead.

M. Ulloa is the firſt who has ſpoken of the platina, in the account he publiſhed, in 1748, of a long voyage to Peru, from whence he was juſt returned. He informed Europe that this extraordinary ſubſtance, and which may be conſidered as an eighth metal, came from the gold mines of America, and was particularly found in thoſe of the new kingdom.

The year following, Wood, an Engliſh metallurgiſt, brought ſome ſpecimens of it from Jamaica to Great Britain. He had received them eight or nine years before from Carthagena, and was the firſt perſon who made experiments upon them.

Some very ſkilful chemiſts have ſince employed themſelves in experiments and inquiries upon the platina; in England, Mr. Lewis; in Sweden, M. Scheffer; in Pruſſia, M. Margraff; and in France, M. M. Macquer, Beaumé, De Buffon, De Morveau, De Sickengen, and De Milly. The united labours of theſe ſeveral chemiſts have ſo much improved our knowledge upon this article, that we do not ſcruple to ſay, there are few metallic ſubſtances, the nature of which is better known to us at preſent than the platina. That which comes into France is never entirely pure. It is uſually mixed with rather a conſiderable quantity of ſmall black ſand, which is as ſtrongly affected by the loadſtone as the beſt iron, but which is indiſſoluble in acids, and cannot be melted without great difficulty; and laſtly, particles of very fine gold are ſometimes obſerved in it.

This mixture, which is almoſt always found, of the native platina with gold and with iron, had raiſed a ſuſpicion that it might be nothing more than a combination of theſe two metals; and accordingly, on melting together gold and iron, or rather gold and magnetic ſand, ſimilar to that which is found mixed with the platina, a combination is obtained, which hath ſome apparent affinities with this metallic ſubſtance: but a more ſtrict examination ſeems to have deſtroyed this opinion, and the experiments of M. M. Macquer and Beaumé, and particularly thoſe of M. le

Baron de Sickengen, appear to have ſhown that the platina is a peculiar kind of metal, which is not formed by the union of any other, and which hath properties belonging to itſelf.

The little information which chemiſts have hitherto obtained reſpecting the natural hiſtory of the platina, and the ſmall quantity they have had in their poſſeſſion, hath not yet allowed them to apply the proceſſes of metallurgy to it at large; but the methods they have given an account of, and particularly thoſe for which we are indebted to the Baron de Sickengen, are ſufficient for chemical accuracy. Nothing remains now but to make them more ſimple and leſs expenſive.

The firſt operation to be performed on the platina conſiſts in ſeparating from it the gold, the iron, and the magnetic ſand, with which it is united. In order to do this, it is diſſolved with the aſſiſtance of a little heat, in an aqua regia, compoſed nearly of equal parts of the nitrous and marine acid. The magnetic ſand, which is indiſſoluble, remains at the bottom of the veſſel; and, by pouring off the liquor, a ſolution is obtained, which contains gold, iron, and platina. To ſeparate, in the firſt inſtance, the gold, a ſmall portion of the vitriolum martis is added to the ſolution. The gold immediately precipitates, while the platina continues united to the ſolvent. Laſtly, to get rid of the iron, ſome alkali, which hath been previouſly calcined with ox's blood, is poured *guttatim* into the ſame liquor. The iron is inſtantly precipitated, under the colour of Pruſſian blue, and nothing more remains in the ſolution than the platina, perfectly pure, and combined with the aqua regia.

The platina being thus purified, the next buſineſs is to ſeparate it from the ſolvent; and this is to be done by the addition of ſal ammoniac. This ſubſtance precipitates the platina under a yellow colour; and this precipitate being expoſed to a great heat, ſoftens, and even diſſolves; and, by forging it with a hammer, the platina is obtained very pure and malleable. It appears from what we have been able to collect from the

Baron de Sickengen's Memoir, which hath been communicated to the Academy of Sciences, but not yet publiſhed, that the rough platina, worked by itſelf, and heated with an intenſe fire, becomes ſufficiently ſoft to be forged and made into bars; and this circumſtance naturally indicates the method to be purſued for the management of it in large works.

The metal obtained by theſe ſeveral proceſſes is nearly of the ſame ſpecific weight as gold; it is of an intermediate colour between that of iron and ſilver; it can be forged and extended into thin plates; it may alſo be worked into thread; but it is not near ſo ductile as gold; and the thread obtained from it is not, in equal diameter, able to ſupport ſo great a weight without breaking. When diſſolved in aqua regia, it may be made to aſſume, by precipitation, an infinite diverſity of colours; and Count Milly hath ſucceeded in varying theſe precipitates ſo much, that he hath had a picture painted, in the colouring of which there is ſcarce any thing but platina made uſe of.

Gold is ſuſceptible of combination with all the metals, and platina hath in like manner this property; but when too great a proportion of it enters into the combination, it renders the metal brittle. When allied with yellow copper, it forms a hard and compact metal, which will take the fineſt poliſh, which will not tarniſh in the air, and which would conſequently be very fit for making the mirrors of teleſcopes.

It doth not appear that mercury hath any effect upon platina; and therefore Mr. Lewis had propoſed to amalgamate it with mercury, as a proper method of ſeparating it from the gold with which it might have been united; but this method hath been conſidered by modern chemiſts as uncertain and defective; and there are others at preſent more to be depended upon: ſuch are thoſe we have been mentioning at the commencement of this article.

This new metal diſplays ſome properties infinitely intereſting to ſociety. It cannot be affected by any ſimple acid, nor by any known ſolvent, except the aqua regia; it will not tarniſh in the air, neither will it ruſt; it unites to the fixedneſs of gold, and to the property it hath of not being ſuſceptible of deſtruction, a hardneſs almoſt equal to that of iron, and a much greater difficulty of fuſion. In a word, from conſidering the advantages of the platina, we cannot but conclude, that this metal deſerves, at leaſt, from its ſuperiority to all others, to ſhare the title of king of the metals, of which gold hath ſo long been in poſſeſſion.

It were undoubtedly to be wiſhed that a metal ſo precious might become common, and that it might be employed for culinary utenſils, in the arts, and in the laboratory of the chemiſt. It would unite all the advantages of veſſels of glaſs, of porcelain, and of ſtone ware, without partaking of their fragility. A prejudice of the Spaniſh miniſtry, and which hath for a long time been adopted by all chemiſts, deprives us of this advantage. They have perſuaded themſelves that the platina might be allied with gold in ſuch a manner as that it could not be ſeparated from it by any means, and they have conſequently thought proper to forbid the extraction and tranſportation of a ſubſtance that might be productive of ſo much miſchief in the hands of avaricious men. But at preſent, that we are acquainted with methods as ſimple and eaſy to ſeparate gold from platina, as to ſeparate ſilver from gold; at preſent, that the chemiſts have taught us, that, when theſe two metals are diſſolved in aqua regia, we may precipitate the gold by the addition of the vitriolum martis, or the platina by the addition of ſal ammoniac, and that in both theſe caſes the two metals are perfectly diſtinct; at preſent, in a word, that the rulers of nations can eaſily obtain information by conſulting the academies, it cannot be doubted but that the Spaniſh government will haſten to avail itſelf of a treaſure, of which it ſeems hitherto to have been the only poſſeſſor, and of which ſo advantageous a uſe may be made for the nation and for ſociety in general.

Nature hath not formed any mines of gold or ſilver in what are called the Valleys of Peru, except one. The large maſſes of theſe precious metals which we ſometimes find there, have been conveyed by ſubterraneous fires, by volcanos, and by earthquakes, as well as by the revolutions which America hath experienced, and doth ſtill experience every day. Theſe detached maſſes are ſometimes found in other parts. About the year 1730, a piece of gold, weighing ninety marks, was found near the town of La Paz. It was a compoſition of ſix different ſpecies of this precious metal, from eighteen to three and twenty carats and a half. There are but few ores, and thoſe of baſe alloy, in the hillocks bordering upon the ſea. It is only in very cold or very high places that they are rich and frequent.

Though the Peruvians were unacquainted with coin, they knew the uſe of gold and ſilver, of which they made toys and even vaſes. The torrents and rivers furniſhed them with the firſt of theſe metals; but, in order to obtain the ſecond, more labour and induſtry was neceſſary. Moſt frequently the ground was opened, yet never to ſo great a depth but that the workmen themſelves could throw the ore on the borders of the ditch which they had digged, or could at leaſt convey it there by paſſing it on from one perſon to another. Sometimes the ſides of the mountains were opened, and the different veins which chance might preſent were followed, though always to very ſmall extent. The two metals were melted and diſengaged from the foreign materials that might be mixed with them by the means of fire. Furnaces, in which a current of air ſupplied the office of the bellows, an inſtrument entirely unknown in theſe countries, were employed to perform this difficult operation.

Porco, at a little diſtance from the ſpot where one of the lieutenants of Pizarro founded, in 1539, the city of La Plata, Porco was, of all the mines which the Incas cauſed to be worked, the moſt plentiful and the moſt known. It was alſo the firſt which the Spaniards worked after the conqueſt; and their labour was ſoon extended to a multiplicity of others.

All of them, without exception, were found to be very expenſive in the working. Nature hath placed them in regions deſtitute of water, wood, proviſions, and all the neceſſaries of life, which muſt be conveyed at a great expence acroſs immenſe deſerts. Theſe difficulties have been, and are ſtill, ſurmounted with more or leſs ſucceſs.

Several mines, which have acquired ſome ſhare of reputation, have been ſucceſſively abandoned. Their produce, though equal to what it was originally, was not ſufficient to defray the expences neceſſary to obtain it: this is a kind of revolution which many of the reſt will experience.

It hath alſo been neceſſary to renounce ſome of the mines which had given falſe hopes. Among this number was that of Ucantaya, diſcovered in 1703, ſixty leagues to the ſouth-eaſt of Cuſco. This was only an incruſtation of almoſt maſſive ſilver, which at firſt yielded a conſiderable quantity, but was ſoon exhauſted.

Some very rich mines have been neglected, becauſe the waters had invaded them. The declivity of the ſoil, which from the ſummit of the Cordeleirias runs continually ſhelving to the South Sea, muſt neceſſarily have rendered theſe events more common at Peru than in other places. This miſchief hath ſometimes been found irremediable; at other times it hath been repaired; moſt frequently it hath been perpetuated, for want of means, activity, or ſkill.

The gold mines were at firſt preferably attended to. Wiſe men ſoon determined in favour of the ſilver mines, which are generally more extenſive, more equal, and, conſequently, leſs deceitful. Several of the former, however, are ſtill worked. A tolerably regular ſeries of ſucceſs hath made thoſe of Lutixaca, of Araca, of Suches, of Caracava, of Lipoani, and of Cachabamba, to be conſidered as the richeſt.

Among the ſilver mines which, in our days; are the moſt celebrated, we muſt mention that of Huantajaha, which hath been worked forty or fifty years ago, at two leagues diſtance from the ſea, near the harbour of Iqueyqua. Upon digging five or ſix feet in the plain, we often find detached maſſes, which at firſt might be taken only for a confuſed mixture of gravel and ſand, and which, upon trial; yield two-thirds of their weight in ſilver. Sometimes they are ſo conſiderable, that, in 1749, two of them were ſent to the court of Spain, one of which weighed one hundred and ſeventy-five pounds, and the other three hundred and ſeventy. In the mountains, the ore is diſpoſed in veins, and is of two kinds. That which in the country is called *barra*, is cut with the rock, and is ſent to Lima, where it is wrought. It yields moſt frequently from one, two, three, four, and as far as five, parts of ſilver, to one of ſtone. The other ſpecies is purified by fire, in the country itſelf. If five of its quintals do not produce a mark of ſilver, it is thrown among the rubbiſh. This neglect ariſes from the exceſſive dearneſs of proviſions, from the neceſſity of obtaining water fit for drinking fourteen leagues off, and from that of grinding the ore at a very conſiderable diſtance.

At thirty leagues to the north-eaſt of Arequipa ſtands Caylloma. Its mines were diſcovered very early: they have been ſince inceſſantly worked, and their produce is ſtill the ſame.

Thoſe of Potoſi were diſcovered in 1545. An Indian, named Hualpa, as it is ſaid, purſuing ſome deer, in order to climb certain ſteep rocks, laid hold of a buſh, the roots of which being looſened from the earth, brought to view an ingot of ſilver. The Peruvian had recourſe to it for his own uſe, and never failed to return to his treaſure every time that his wants or his deſires ſolicited him to it. The change that had happened in his fortune was remarked by his countryman Guanca, to whom he avowed the ſecret. The two friends could not keep their counſel, and enjoy their good fortune. They quarrelled; and the indiſcreet confidant diſcovered the whole to his maſter Villaroell, a Spaniard who was ſettled in the neighbourhood.

This diſcovery ſoon inflamed the minds of the Spaniards.* Several mines were immediately opened in a mountain of a conical form, which is one league in circumference, five or ſix toiſes in height, and is of a dark red colour. In proceſs of time, a leſs conſiderable mountain, iſſuing from the former, was alſo ſearched, and with equal ſucceſs. The treaſures that were derived from each of theſe mountains, were the origin of one of the largeſt and moſt opulent cities in the New World.

Nature never offered to the avidity of mankind, in any country on the globe, ſuch rich mines as thoſe of Potoſi. Excluſive of what was not regiſtered, and was ſmuggled away, the fifth part, belonging to the government, from 1545 to 1564, amounted to 36,450,000 livres [1,518,075l.] *per annum.* But this abundance of metals ſoon decreaſed. From 1564 to 1585, the annual fifth part amounted to no more than 15,187,489 livres 4 ſols [632,812l. 1s.]. From 1585 to 1624, it amounted to 12,149,994 livres 12 ſols [506,249l. 15s. 6d.]. From 1624 to 1633, to 6,074,997 livres 6 ſols [253,124l. 17s. 9d.]. From this laſt period, the produce of theſe mines hath ſo evidently decreaſed, that, in 1763, the fifth part, belonging to the king, did not exceed 1,364,682 livres 12 ſols [56,861l. 15s. 9d.].

In the firſt inſtance, each quintal of ore yielded fifty pounds of ſilver. At preſent, fifty quintals do not produce more than two pounds of ſilver. This is one part inſtead of twelve hundred and fifty.

If this diminution ſhould be carried on a little further, this ſource of riches muſt neceſſarily be given up. It is even probable, that this event would already have taken place, if the ore were not ſo ſoft at Potoſi, if the waters were not ſo favourably ſituated for grinding it, and if the expences were not infinitely leſs than at any other place.

But while the mines of Potoſi were gradually loſing their celebrity, thoſe of Oruro, not far diſtant from them, were riſing into great reputation. Their proſperity was even increaſing, when the waters flowed into the richeſt of them. At the period in which we are writing, it hath not yet been poſſible to drain them, and all theſe treaſures ſtill remain under water. The mines of Popo, the moſt conſiderable of thoſe that have eſcaped this great diſaſter, are no more than twelve leagues diſtant from the town of San Philip de Auſtria de Gruro, which was built in this diſtrict, formerly ſo celebrated.

The labours of the miners, ſettled to the eaſt of La Plata, in the diſtrict of Carangas, were never diſturbed by any accident; thoſe, however, whom chance had brought to Turco were conſtantly the moſt fortunate, becauſe this mountain always afforded them an ore incorporated, or, as it were, melted with the ſtone, and conſequently richer than all the reſt.

In the dioceſe of La Paz, and near to the ſmall town of Puna, Joſeph Salcedo diſcovered, about the year 1660, the mine of Laycacota. It was ſo rich, that the ſilver of it was often cut with a chiſel.[*] Proſperity, which debaſes little minds, had ſo elevated that of the proprietor of ſo much opulence, that he permitted all the Spaniards who came to ſeek their fortune in this part of the New World, to work ſome days for their own benefit, without weighing or meaſuring the preſent he made them. This generoſity attracted an infinite number of adventurers, whoſe avidity induced them to take up arms. They attacked each other; and their benefactor, who had neglected nothing that might prevent or extinguiſh their ſanguinary contentions, was hanged as being the author of them. Such incidents might be ſufficient to leſſen in our hearts the inclination to benevolence; and it is with reluctance I have mentioned this.

While Salcedo was in priſon, the water got poſſeſſion of his mine. Superſtition ſoon gave birth to the idea, that this was a puniſhment for the outrage committed againſt him. This idea of divine vengeance was for a long time revered; but at length, in 1740, Diego de Baena, and ſome other enterpriſing men, aſſociated themſelves, in order to turn away the ſprings which had deluged ſo much treaſure. In 1754, the work was ſo far advanced, that ſome utility was already derived from it. We know not what hath happened ſince that period.

All the mines of Peru were originally worked by means of fire. In moſt of them, mercury was ſubſtituted to this in 1571.

This powerful agent is found in two different ſtates in the boſom of the earth. If it be altogether pure, and in the fluid form which is proper to it, it is then denominated virgin mercury, becauſe it hath not experienced the action of fire, in order to be extracted from the mine. If it be found combined with ſulphur, it forms a ſubſtance of a red colour, which is more or leſs vivid, called cinnabar.

Till the mine of virgin mercury, which was lately diſcovered at Montpelier under the buildings of the town itſelf, and which for that reaſon will probably never be worked, there had been no others known in Europe, except thoſe of Udria in Carniola. Theſe are in a valley, at the foot of high mountains, which were called by the Romans *Alpes Juliæ*. They were diſcovered by chance in 1497. They are about nine hundred feet deep. The deſcent into them is by pits, as into all other mines. There are under ground an infinite number of galleries, of which ſome are ſo low, that it is neceſſary to ſtoop, in order to paſs along; and there are places where it is ſo hot, that it is not poſſible to ſtop without being in a profuſe ſweat: it is in theſe ſubterraneous caverns that mercury is found, in a kind of clay, or in ſtones. Sometimes even this ſubſtance is ſeen running down like rain, and oozes ſo copiouſly through the rocks which form the vaults of theſe ſubterraneous caverns, that one man hath often gathered thirty-ſix pounds of it in a day.

There are ſome people ſo fond of the marvellous, that they prefer this mercury to the other; which is a mere prejudice. Experience ſhows, that the beſt mercury that can be uſed, either in medicine or in metallurgy, is that which hath been extracted from cinnabar. In order to ſeparate the natural combination of theſe two volatile ſubſtances, ſulphur and mercury, recourſe muſt neceſſarily be had to the action of fire, to which ſome intermediate ſubſtance muſt be joined. This is either the filings of ſteel or copper, or the regulus of antimony, or lime, or ſome fixed alkaline ſalt. Europe is ſupplied with this laſt ſpecies of mercury from Hungary, Sclavonia, Bohemia, Carinthia, Friuli, and Normandy. The quantity that Spain wants for Mexico comes from the mine of Almaden, which was famous even in the time of the Romans: but Peru hath found within itſelf, at Guança-Velica, a ſufficient quantity for all its exigencies.

This ore, as it is ſaid, was known to the ancient Peruvians, who made no other uſe of it than to paint their faces. It was forgotten during the confuſion into which the conqueſt plunged this unfortunate region. It was found again in 1556, according to ſome hiſtorians, and in 1564, according to others; but Pedro Fernandez Velaſco was the firſt who, in 1574, thought of employing it in working the other mines: the government reſerved to itſelf the property of it. They even forbade, upon any pretence whatſoever, that other mines of the ſame kind ſhould be opened, leſt they ſhould be defrauded of the duties they laid upon mercury.

The mine of Guança-Velica hath undergone ſeveral changes. At the time in which we are writing, its circumference meaſures one hundred and eighty varas, its diameter ſixty, and its depth five hundred and thirteen. It hath four openings, all of them at the top of the mountain, a ſmall number of buttreſſes, deſtined to ſupport the ſoil, and three vent-holes, which either let in air, or ſerve to carry off the waters. It is worked by ſome partners, moſt of them without fortune, to whom the ſovereign advances whatever they want, and who deliver the mercury to him at his ſtipulated price. The men employed in theſe labours were generally ſeized, formerly, with convulſive motions. This malady is at preſent much leſs frequent; whether it be, that the mercury contained in the mine hath leſſened by more than one-half, or that ſome precautions have been taken, which had at firſt been neglected. Thoſe who have the care of the furnaces, are at preſent almoſt the only perſons who are expoſed to this calamity: they are, however, eaſily cured. The only thing neceſſary is to ſend them into a warm climate, or to employ them in cultivating the lands. The mercury, which affected their limbs, is carried off by perſpiration.

The barrenneſs of Guança-Velica, and of the neighbouring lands, is remarkable. No fruit tree can be naturalized there. Of all the ſpecies of corn that have been ſown, barley is the only one that hath ſprung up; and even that hath never come to maturity. Nothing but the potato has thriven.

The air is not more wholeſome than the ſoil is fertile. Children, newly born, die of the tetanos ſtill more frequently than in the reſt of the New World. Thoſe who have eſcaped this danger, are ſeized at the end of three or four months with a violent cough, and moſt of them periſh in convulſions, unleſs care be taken to convey them into a milder climate. This precaution, which is neceſſary for the Indians and for the Meſtees, is ſtill more ſo for the Spaniards, who are leſs robuſt. The extreme ſeverity of the climate, the ſulphureous vapours which cover the horizon, and the generally vitiated conſtitution of the fathers and mothers, muſt be the principal cauſes of ſo great a calamity.

The very elevated mountains of Guança-Velica had for a long time engaged the attention of men who are greedy of riches, when, at length, they became intereſting to philoſophers.

The aſtronomers who were ſent in 1735 to Peru, in order to meaſure the degrees of the meridian, travelled over a ſpace of ninety leagues, beginning a little to the north of the equator, and proceeding as far as the ſouth of the city of Cuenca, without diſcovering any mark which could lead them to think that theſe mountains, which were the higheſt in the univerſe, had been ever covered by the ocean. The banks of ſhells that were found out ſome time after at Chili, did not prove the contrary, becauſe they were upon eminences of no more than fifty toiſes. But ſince Guança-Velica hath furniſhed recent and petrified ſhells, and both of them in very great quantity, it is neceſſary to retract, and give up all the conſequences that had been deduced from this phenomenon.

It is not at Guança-Velica that the mercury is delivered to the public. The government ſends it to the provinces where the mines are. The places where it is depoſited are twelve in number. In 1763, Guança-Velica itſelf conſumed one hundred and forty-two quintals; Taiya, two hundred and forty-ſeven; Paſca, ſeven hundred and twenty-nine; Truxillo, one hundred and thirty-one; Cuſco, thirteen; La Plata, three hundred and ſixty nine; La Paz, thirty; Caylloma, three hundred and ſeventy-four; Caranjas, one hundred and fifty; Oruro, twelve hundred and ſixty-four; and Potoſi, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-two. This made, on the whole, five thouſand two hundred and forty-one quintals.

Although the quality of the ore determines the greater or leſs conſumption of the mercury, yet it is generally thought in the other hemiſphere, where the art of metallurgy is very imperfect, that, upon the whole, the conſumption of mercury is equal to the quantity of ſilver obtained from the mines. In this ſuppoſition, the twelve magazines which, from 1732 to 1763, delivered, one year with another, five thouſand three hundred and four quintals eighteen pounds of mercury, ſhould have received the ſame quantity of ſilver. Nevertheleſs, they received no more than two thouſand two hundred and fifty. Therefore, two thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-four quintals eighteen pounds were ſecreted, in order to defraud the cuſtoms.

Subverſion and re-building of Lima. Manners of this capital of Peru.

Lima hath always attracted the greateſt part of theſe riches, whether they have eſcaped the vigilance of the treaſury or not. This capital, built in 1535, by Francis Pizarro, and which hath ſince become ſo celebrated, is ſituated at two leagues from the ſea, in a delicious plain. The proſpect from it on one ſide extends over a tranquil ocean, on the other it ſtretches as far as the Cordeleirias. Its ſoil is nothing but a heap of flints, which the ſea hath undoubtedly in a ſeries of ages piled together, but they are covered with earth a foot below the ſurface, which the ſpring waters, that are every where found on digging, have brought from the mountains.

Sugar-canes, numberleſs olive trees, ſome vines, artificial meadows, paſtures full of ſalt which give meat an exquiſite taſte, ſmall grain appropriated to the feeding of fowls, fruit-trees of every kind, and certain other plantations, cover the ſurface of theſe fortunate plains. Wheat and barley proſpered there for a long time; but an earthquake happening about a century ago, cauſed ſuch a revolution, that the ſeeds rotted without ſprouting. It was not till after forty years of barrenneſs, that the ſoil reſumed its former fertility. Lima, as well as the other towns of the valleys, owes its ſubſiſtence chiefly to the labours of the negroes. It is ſcarce any where, except the inland parts, that the fields are cultivated by the Indians.

Before the arrival of the Spaniards, all the edifices in Peru were conſtructed without any foundations. The walls of the houſes of private perſons, as well as thoſe of the public buildings, were alike placed on the ſurface of the earth, of whatever materials they might be made. Experience had taught theſe people, that in the country they inhabited this was the only way of dwelling in ſecurity. Their conquerors, who had a ſovereign contempt for every thing which deviated from their habits, and who carried every where along with them their European cuſtoms, without conſidering whether they were ſuitable to the countries they were invading; the conquerors departed, particularly at Lima, from the manner of building which they found generally eſtabliſhed. Accordingly, when the natives of the country ſaw them open deep trenches, and make uſe of cement, they ſaid that their tyrants were digging graves to bury themſelves in; and, perhaps, it was ſome conſolation to the wretchedneſs of the conquered to foreſee, that the earth would one day take upon itſelf to avenge them of their deſtroyers.

The prediction hath been fulfilled. The capital of Peru, after having been partially ſubverted by eleven earthquakes, was at length totally deſtroyed by the twelfth. On the 28th of October 1746, at half an hour after ten at night, all, or almoſt all the buildings, whether large or ſmall, were thrown down in the ſpace of three minutes. Thirteen hundred perſons were cruſhed under the ruins. A much more conſiderable number were mutilated; and moſt of them expired in horrid torments.

Callao, which ſerves as a harbour to Lima, was likewiſe overthrown; but this was the leaſt of its misfortunes. The ſea, which had ſtarted back with horror at the inſtant of this dreadful cataſtrophe, ſoon returned to invade with its impetuous waves the ſpace it had quitted. It ſwallowed up the few houſes and fortifications that had eſcaped the former danger. Of the four thouſand inhabitants that were computed to be in this celebrated port, there were only two hundred ſaved. It then contained three-and-twenty ſhips; nineteen of them were ſwallowed up, and the reſt thrown very far in upon the land by the irritated ocean.

The ravage extended itſelf all over the coaſt. The few veſſels there were in theſe bad harbours were ſhattered: The towns in the valleys ſuſtained in general ſome damages; ſeveral of them even were totally ſubverted. Among the mountains, four or five volcanos threw out ſuch prodigious columns of water, that the whole country was deluged by them.

The minds of men, which had been for a long time in a ſtate of lethargy, were rouſed by this fatal calamity; and it was Lima that firſt ſet the example of the change. The buſineſs was to clear away immenſe ruins heaped one upon another; and to get out prodigious treaſures that were buried in theſe ruins. It was neceſſary to bring from Guayaquil, and from a ſtill greater diſtance, every requiſite for the conſtruction of numberleſs edifices; and with all theſe materials, collected from theſe different regions, to raiſe a city ſuperior to that which had been deſtroyed. Theſe miracles, which were not to be expected from an indolent and effeminate people, were performed with great rapidity. Neceſſity inſpired them with activity, emulation, and induſtry. Lima, though, perhaps, leſs wealthy, is at preſent more agreeable than in 1682, when its gates preſented to the view of the Duke of Palata, the viceroy, on his entering, ſtreets paved with ſilver. It is alſo built with greater ſolidity, and for the following reaſon:

The vanity of having palaces, concealed for a long time from the inhabitants of the capital of Peru the dangers to which this abſurd oſtentation expoſed them. In vain had the earth ſwallowed up at different periods theſe enormous maſſes; the leſſon was never powerful enough to correct them. The laſt cataſtrophe hath at length opened their eyes. They have yielded to neceſſity, and have at laſt followed the example of other Spaniards ſettled in the valleys.

The houſes are at preſent very low, and have moſt of them no more than a ground-floor. For walls they have poſts placed at different diſtances. The intervals are filled up with reeds, nearly ſimilar to ours, but which have no cavity, which are very ſolid, which do not eaſily rot, and which are covered over with clay. Theſe ſingular edifices are topped with a wooden roof entirely flat, and alſo covered with clay, a ſufficient precaution in a climate where it never rains. The ſeveral parts of theſe buildings are faſtened together, and to the foundations with a ſtrong kind of oſier, which in the country is called chaglar. With this kind of conſtruction, the whole building readily yields to the me-tion communicated to it by the earthquakes. They may poſſibly be damaged by the convulſive motions of nature, but they cannot be eaſily thrown down.

Theſe houſes, however, are not deficient in appearance. The attention that is taken to paint the walls and cornices, ſo as to reſemble free-ſtone, conceals the quality of the materials of which they are formed. They are even found to have an air of grandeur and ſolidity, which it would not be natural to expect. The defect of conſtruction is ſtill more concealed in the inſide of the houſes, where all the ornaments are painted in a ſtyle of greater or leſs elegance. The ordinary method of conſtruction hath been but a little deviated from in the public buildings. Several of them are raiſed to the height of ten feet, with bricks baked in the ſun; ſome of the churches even are raiſed to the ſame height in ſtone. The reſt of theſe monuments are in wood, painted or gilt; as well as the columns and ſtatues which decorate them.

The ſtreets of Lima are wide, parallel, and interſect each other at right angles. Its walls are continually waſhed and refreſhed by waters brought from the river of Rimac. The water that is not employed in this ſalutary purpoſe, is advantageouſly diſtributed for the convenience of the citizens, for the uſe of the gardens, and for fertilizing the fields.

The ſcourges of nature, which have revived induſtry to a certain degree in Lima, have had leſs influence on the manners of its inhabitants.

Superſtition, which reigns throughout the whole extent of the Spaniſh dominions, hath at Peru two ſceptres at its command; one of gold, for the uſurping and triumphant nation; the other of iron, for the enſlaved and pillaged inhabitants. The ſcapulary and the roſary are all the tokens of religion which the monks require of the Spaniards of Peru. It is on the form and colour of theſe kinds of taliſmans that the populace and the grandees found the proſperity of their undertakings, the ſucceſs of their amorous intrigues, and the hopes of their ſalvation. The monkiſh habit, aſſumed in the laſt moments, conſtitutes the ſecurity of opulent people who have lived ill; they are convinced, that when wrapt in this clothing, which is ſo formidable to the devil, that avenging power of crimes will not dare to deſcend into their graves and ſeize upon their ſouls. If their aſhes repoſe near the altar, they hope to partake of the ſacrifices of the pontiffs, much more than the poor and the ſlaves.

Influenced by ſuch fatal errors, what enormities will they not commit to acquire riches, which ſecure their happineſs in this world and in the next? The vanity of immortalizing their name, and the promiſe of eternal life, ſecure to the monks a fortune, which can no longer be enjoyed; and families are diſappointed of an inheritance, whether acquired by honeſty or fraud, by legacies which ſerve to enrich men who have diſcovered the ſecret of eſcaping poverty by devoting themſelves to it. Thus it is that the order of ſentiments, ideas, and things, is ſubverted; and the children of opulent fathers are condemned to miſery by the pious rapaciouſneſs of a number of voluntary mendicants. The Engliſh, the Dutch, and the French, loſe their national prejudices by travelling; the Spaniard carries his along with him throughout the whole univerſe; and ſuch is the madneſs of bequeathing legacies to the church, that the ground of all the houſes of Peru belongs to the prieſthood, or pays them ſome ſhare of rent. The inſtitution of monkiſh orders hath done at Peru, what the law of the *Vacuf* will do, ſooner or later, at Conſtantinople. Here the people bequeath their fortunes to a minaret, in order to ſecure it to their heirs; there they deprive an heir of it, by leaving it to a monaſtery from the dread of being damned. The motives are a little different, but in the end the effect is the ſame. In both countries the church is the gulf, in which all the riches are abſorbed; and theſe Caſtilians, who were heretofore ſo formidable, ſhrink before ſuperſtition, as Aſiatic ſlaves do in the preſence of their deſpot.

Theſe extravagances might induce one to ſuppoſe theſe people totally ſtupid; but this would be an injuſtice. Since the beginning of the century, good books are common enough at Lima; the people are not entirely deſtitute of knowledge; and we may be allowed to ſay, that the French navigators, during the war for the ſucceſſion, implanted ſome good principles among them. Nevertheleſs the ancient habits have loſt but little of their force. The Spaniſh Creole lives conſtantly among courtezans, or amuſes himſelf at home in drinking the herb of Paraguay. He would be afraid to diminiſh the joys of love by confining it within legitimate bonds. His inclination leads him to marry in the country behind the church, that is an expreſſion, which ſignifies living in a ſtate of concubinage. In vain do the biſhops anathematize every year, at Eaſter, thoſe perſons who are united in theſe illicit bonds. But what power have theſe vain terrors againſt the impulſe of amorous deſires, againſt cuſtom, and eſpecially againſt the climate, which is continually ſtruggling with, and at laſt proves victorious over all the civil and religious laws that oppoſe its influence?

The charms of the Peruvian women are ſuperior to the terror which the ſpiritual arms of Rome inſpire. The majority of them, eſpecially the women of Lima, have eyes ſparkling with vivacity, a fair ſkin, a complexion that is delicate, animated, full of ſprightlineſs and life, and a ſlender and well-formed ſhape; a foot better turned and ſmaller than that of the Spaniſh women themſelves; thick and black hair, flowing as if by chance, and without ornament, over their neck and ſhoulders; which are extremely white.

Theſe various natural graces are heightened by every improvement that art can add to them. The clothing of the women is moſt ſumptuous, and they uſe an unbounded profuſion of pearls and diamonds in every kind of dreſs in which it is poſſible to introduce them. It is even looked upon as a ſort of grandeur and dignity, to ſuffer theſe valuable articles to be miſlaid or loſt. A woman even who hath no titles, and is not ennobled, ſeldom appears in public without gold tiſſues, and without jewels. She never goes out without being attended by three or four ſlaves, moſt of them Mulatto women, in liveries as the men are, and adorned with lace as their miſtreſſes.

Perfumes are in general uſe at Lima. The women are never without amber; they ſcent their linen and their clothes with it, and even their noſegays, as if there were ſomething wanting to the natural perfume of flowers. The amber is undoubtedly an additional allurement to the men, and the flowers impart a new attraction to the women. With theſe they adorn their ſleeves, and ſometimes their hair like ſhepherdeſſes.

The taſte for muſic, which prevails throughout all Peru, is converted into a paſſion in the capital. The walls reſound with nothing but ſinging, and concerts of vocal and inſtrumental muſic. Balls are frequent. The people dance here with ſurpriſing lightneſs; but they neglect the graces of the arms, to attend to the agility of the feet, and eſpecially to the inflections of the body; as images of the true emotions of voluptuouſneſs.

Such are the pleaſures which the women, who are all dreſſed rather with elegance than modeſty, taſte and diffuſe at Lima. But it is particularly in thoſe delicious ſaloons where they receive company, that they appear ſeducing. There, careleſsly reclined on a couch, which is a foot and a half high, and five or ſix feet wide, and upon carpets and ſuperb cuſhions, they paſs their days in tranquillity and in delicious repoſe. The men who are admitted to their converſation, ſeat themſelves at ſome diſtance, unleſs their adorers, from greater intimacy, be permitted to come up to the couch, which is, as it were, the ſanctuary of worſhip and of the idol. Yet theſe goddeſſes chooſe rather to be affable than haughty; and, baniſhing ceremony, they play on the harp and guittar, and ſing and dance when they are deſired.

The moſt diſtinguiſhed citizens find in thoſe *majorafcos*, or perpetual entails, tranſmitted to them by the firſt conquerors their anceſtors, a ſufficiency to anſwer theſe profuſions : but the landed eſtates have not been adequate to the expences of a great number even of very ancient families. Moſt of them have had recourſe to trade. An employment ſo worthy of man, and which extends at once his activity, his knowledge, and his power, hath never appeared to them to derogate from their nobility ; and the laws have given a ſanction to a mode of thinking ſo rational and ſo uſeful. Their capitals, added to the remittances that are continually ſent from the inland countries, have rendered Lima the centre of all the tranſactions which the provinces of Peru carry on, either among themſelves, or with Mexico and Chili, and of the more important ones with the mother-country.

Panama was for a long time the channel of communication between Peru and Spain. Manner in which this trade was carried on.

The Straits of Magellan appeared the only open way to form this laſt connection. The length of the paſſage, the terror inſpired by ſtormy and almoſt unknown ſeas, the fear of exciting the ambition of other nations, the impoſſibility of finding an aſylum in caſe of unfortunate accidents, and other conſiderations, perhaps, turned the general views towards Panama.

This town, which had been the gate through which an entrance had been gained into Peru, had riſen to great proſperity, when, in 1670, it was pillaged and burnt by pirates. It was rebuilt on a more advantageous ſpot, at the diſtance of four or five miles from the firſt, and of three leagues from the harbour of Férico, which is formed by a great number of iſlands, and ſufficiently ſpacious to contain the moſt numerous fleets. It rules over the provinces of Panama, the Veraguas, and Darien, regions without inhabitants, without culture, and without riches, and which were decorated with the great name of the kingdom of Terra Firma, at a period when great expectations were entertained of their mines. Panama hath never furniſhed any thing to trade from its own produce, except pearls.

The pearl fiſhery is carried on in forty-three iſlands of the gulf. The greateſt part of the inhabitants employ ſuch of their Negroes in it as are good ſwimmers.

Theſe ſlaves plunge and replunge in the ſea in ſearch of pearls, till this exerciſe hath exhauſted their ſtrength or their ſpirits.

Every Negro is obliged to deliver a certain number of oyſters. Thoſe in which there are no pearls, or in which the pearl is not entirely formed, are not reckoned. What he is able to find beyond the ſtipulated obligation is conſidered as his indiſputable property: he may ſell it to whom he thinks proper, but commonly he cedes it to his maſter at a moderate price.

Sea monſters, which abound more about the iſlands where pearls are found than on the neighbouring coaſts, render this fiſhing dangerous. Some of theſe devour the divers in an inſtant. The manta fiſh, which derives its name from its figure, rolls them under its body, and ſuffocates them. In order to defend themſelves againſt ſuch enemies, every diver is armed with a poniard. The moment he perceives any of theſe voracious fiſh, he attacks them with precaution, wounds them, and drives them away. Notwithſtanding this, there are always ſome fiſhermen deſtroyed, and a great number crippled.

The pearls of Panama are commonly of a very fine water: ſome of them are even remarkable for their ſize and figure. Theſe were formerly ſold in Europe. Since art hath imitated them, and the paſſion for diamonds hath entirely ſuperſeded or diminiſhed the uſe of them, they are all carried to Peru.

This branch of trade hath, however, infinitely leſs contributed to give reputation to Panama than the advantage which it enjoyed of being the ſtaple of all the productions of the country of the Incas that are deſtined for the Old World. Theſe riches, which were brought hither by a ſmall fleet, were carried, ſome on mules, others by the river Chagre, to Porto Bello, that is ſituated on the northern coaſt of the iſthmus which ſeparates the two ſeas.

Though the ſituation of this town had been ſurveyed and approved by Columbus in 1502, it was not built till 1584, from the ruins of Nombre de Dios. It is diſpoſed in the form of a creſcent, on the declivity of a mountain which ſurrounds the harbour. This celebrated harbour, which was formerly very well defended by forts, which Admiral Vernon deſtroyed in 1740, ſeems to afford an entrance ſix hundred toiſes broad; but it is ſo ſtraitened by rocks that are near the ſurface of the water, that it is reduced to a very narrow canal. Veſſels can only be towed into it, becauſe they always experience either contrary winds or a great calm. Here they enjoy perfect ſecurity.

The intemperature of the climate of Porto Bello is ſo notorious, that it hath been named the grave of the Spaniards. It hath been more than once neceſſary to leave ſhips here, becauſe all their crews had periſhed. The inhabitants themſelves do not live long, and have all a vitiated conſtitution. It is rather a diſgrace to reſide here. Some Negroes and Mulattoes only are to be met with, with a ſmall number of white people, fixed by the poſts they hold under government. The garriſon itſelf, though only conſiſting of a hundred and fifty men, doth not continue here more than three months at one time. Till the beginning of the preſent century no woman dared to lie-in here. ſhe would have deemed it devoting both her child and herſelf to certain death. The plants that are tranſplanted into this fatal region, where the heat, the moiſture, and the vapours are exceſſive and continual, have never proſpered. It is an eſtabliſhed opinion, that the domeſtic animals of Europe, which have prodigiouſly multiplied in all the parts of the New World, loſe their fruitfulneſs on coming to Porto Bello; and, if we may judge by the few that are now there, notwithſtanding the abundance of paſtures, we might be induced to believe that this opinion is not ill founded.

The badneſs of the climate prevented not Porto Bello from becoming at firſt the centre of the moſt extenſive commerce that ever exiſted. While the riches of the New World arrived there, to be exchanged for the productions of the Old, the veſſels that ſailed from Spain, known by the name of galleons, came hither, laden with all the articles of neceſſity, convenience, and luxury, which could tempt the proprietors of the mines.

The deputies for tranſacting this commerce, on both ſides, regulated on board the admiral's ſhip the price of goods, under the inſpection of the commander of the ſquadron and of the governor of Panama. The eſtimate was not adjuſted by the intrinſic value of each article, but by its ſcarcity or plenty. The ability of the agents conſiſted in forming their combinations ſo judiciouſly, that the cargo imported from Europe ſhould abſorb all the treaſures that were come from Peru. It was regarded as a bad market, when there were found goods neglected for want of money, or money not laid out for want of goods. In this caſe only, the Spaniſh merchants were allowed to go and complete the ſale of their merchandiſe in the South Seas, and the Peruvian merchants were permitted to make remittances to the mother-country for their purchaſes.

As ſoon as the prices were ſettled, the traffic commenced. This was neither tedious nor difficult; it was carried on with the utmoſt frankneſs. Every thing was tranſacted with ſo much honeſty, that they never opened their cheſts of piaſtres, nor proved the contents of their bales. This reciprocal confidence was never deceived. There were found, more than once, ſacks of gold mixed among ſacks of ſilver, and articles which were not entered on the invoice. Theſe miſtakes were rectified before the departure of the ſhips, or on their return. There only happened, in 1654, an event which might have interrupted this confidence. It was found in Europe, that all the piaſtres that were received at the laſt fair had a fifth of alloy. The loſs was borne by the Spaniſh merchants; but, as the coiners of Lima were known to be the authors of this fraud, the reputation of the Peruvian merchants incurred no diſgrace.

The fair, the duration of which, on account of the noxious qualities of the air, was limited to forty days, was regularly holden. It is clear from the acts of

1595, that the galleons muſt have been diſpatched from Spain every year, or at the lateſt every eighteen months; and the twelve fleets that ſailed from the fourth of Auguſt 1628, to the third of June 1635, prove that this rule was ſtrictly obſerved. They returned after a voyage of eleven, ten, and ſometimes even eight months, laden with immenſe riches, in gold, ſilver, and merchandiſe.

This proſperity continued without interruption to the middle of the ſeventeenth century. After the loſs of Jamaica, a conſiderable contraband trade took place, which till that time had been trifling. The ſacking of Panama in 1670, by John Morgan the Engliſh pirate, was attended with ſtill more diſtreſsful conſequences. Peru, which ſent its ſtock beforehand into this city, now no longer tranſmitted it till after the arrival of the galleons at Carthagena. This alteration occaſioned delays and uncertainties. The fairs were not much frequented, and ſmuggling increaſed.

The elevation of a French prince to the throne of Charles V. excited a general war; and, at the very commencement of hoſtilities, the galleons were burnt in the port of Vigo, where the impoſſibility of gaining Cadiz had obliged them to take refuge. The communication of Spain with Porto Bello was then totally interrupted; and the South Sea had more than ever direct and regular connections with foreign powers.

The peace of Utrecht did not put an end to the miſchief. The unfortunate ſituation of circumſtances, made it impoſſible for the court of Madrid to diſpenſe with granting excluſively to an Engliſh Company the privilege of providing Peru with ſlaves. They were even obliged to grant to this encroaching Company the right of ſending to each fair a veſſel laden with the different merchandiſe that the country conſumed. This veſſel, which ought not to have been of more than five hundred tons burden, always carried more than a thouſand. It was neither furniſhed with water nor proviſions. Four or five veſſels, which followed it, ſupplied its wants; and frequently ſubſtituted new goods in the place of ſuch as had been ſold. The galleons, ruined by this competition, were ſtill more completely ſo by the fraudulent tranſactions carried on in all the ports to which the Negroes were conveyed. At laſt, after the expedition of 1737, it was impoſſible to ſupport this commerce any longer; and a ſtop was put to thoſe famous fairs envied by all nations, though they ought to have been regarded as the common treaſure of all people.

From this period Panama and Porto Bello have aſtoniſhingly declined. Theſe two towns now only ſerve to carry on a few branches of a languid trade. Affairs of greater importance have been turned into another channel.

The Spaniards have ſubſtituted the route through the Straits of Magellan and by Cape Horn to that of Panama.

It is well known that Magellan diſcovered, in 1520, at the ſouthern extremity of America, the famous ſtrait which bears his name. He ſaw there, and they have been frequently ſeen ſince, men who were about a foot higher than Europeans. Other navigators have only ſeen in the ſame latitudes men of an ordinary ſtature. During the courſe of two centuries, navigators have mutually accuſed each other of ignorance, prejudice, and impoſture. At length ſome voyagers have been fortunate enough to meet with hordes of a common ſize, and others of a more elevated ſtature; and they have concluded from this deciſive event, that the perſons who had gone before them had been right in what they affirmed, and wrong in what they denied. Then only it occurred, that there were no fixed inhabitants in theſe uncultivated regions; that the people came there from countries more or leſs diſtant; and that it was probable that the ſavages of one diſtrict were taller than thoſe of another. This conjecture hath been ſupported by natural philoſophy. It can never indeed be reaſonably imagined, that nature deviates more from her principles, in producing thoſe perſons whom we chooſe to call giants, than in giving birth to thoſe we call dwarfs.

There are giants and dwarfs in all countries. There are giants, dwarfs, and men of a common ſize, born of the ſame father and the ſame mother. There are giants and dwarfs in every ſpecies of animals, trees, fruits, and plants; and whatever ſyſtem of generation we may adopt, we have no greater reaſon to be aſtoniſhed at the difference of ſtature between men of the ſame family, or of different families, than to ſee fruits of a different ſize upon a neighbouring tree, or upon the ſame. The man who ſhall explain one of theſe phenomena will explain them all.

The Strait of Magellan is one hundred and fourteen leagues long, and in ſome places leſs than a league in breadth. It ſeparates the land of the Patagonians from the Terra del Fuego, which, it is preſumed, were formerly one and the ſame continent. The conformity of their barren coaſts, of their rough climate, of their monſtrous rocks, of their inacceſſible mountains, of their eternal ſnows, of their ſavage inhabitants; every circumſtance, in a word, tends to ſuggeſt the idea, that this large channel of navigation is the effect of one of thoſe natural revolutions which ſo often change the face of the globe.

Though it was for a long time the only paſſage known into the South Sea, the dangers incurred there cauſed it almoſt to be forgotten. The boldneſs of Drake, the celebrated navigator, who ſailed by this track to ravage the coaſts of Peru, determined the Spaniards, in 1582, to form a conſiderable ſettlement there, deſtined to preſerve this rich part of the New World from invaſion. This new colony periſhed almoſt entirely for want of proviſions.

Pedro Sarmiento, who was charged with this important enterpriſe, ſet out from Europe in 1581, with twenty-three ſhips, and three thouſand five hundred men. The expedition was thwarted by ſo many repeated calamities, that the admiral arrived the following year at the Strait with only four hundred men, thirty women, and proviſions for ſeven or eight months. The deplorable remains of ſo fine a colony were ſettled at Phillipeville, in a ſafe, commodious, and ſpacious bay. But the misfortunes that had ſo cruelly attacked the Spaniards in their paſſage, obſtinately purſued them at the end of their voyage. No ſuccour was ſent to them; the country furniſhed them no ſubſiſtence, and they periſhed with miſery. Of the four-and-twenty wretches who had eſcaped this terrible calamity, three-and-twenty, whoſe fate hath always remained unknown, embarked for the river Plata. Fernando Gomez, the only one that remained, was taken up in 1587, by the Engliſh pirate Cavendiſh, who gave to the place where he had found him the name of Port Famine.

The loſs of this colony was not, however, attended with ſuch conſequences as had been apprehended. The Straits of Magellan ſoon ceaſed to be the road of theſe pirates, who were urged by their mercenary views to viſit theſe remote regions. In 1616, ſome Dutch navigators having doubled Cape Horn, this became afterwards the road which the enemies of Spain followed, who deſigned to paſs into the South Sea. It was ſtill more frequented by French veſſels, during the war which cauſed ſuch confuſion in Europe at the beginning of the preſent century. The impoſſibility which Philip V. felt of furniſhing his colonies himſelf with proviſions, emboldened the ſubjects of his grandfather to go to Peru. The want of every thing, which the inhabitants then experienced, made the French to be received with joy; and at firſt they got a profit of eight hundred *per cent.* The merchants of Saint Malo, who had ſeized upon this commerce, did not acquire riches for themſelves alone. In 1709, they delivered them up to their country, which was exhauſted by the inclemency of the ſeaſons, by repeated defeats, and by an ignorant and arbitrary adminiſtration. A navigation which allowed of ſuch noble ſacrifices, ſoon excited an emulation that was too univerſal. The competition became ſo conſiderable, and the goods fell into ſuch diſrepute, that it was impoſſible to ſell them; and ſeveral privateers burnt them, that they might not be obliged to carry them back into their country. The equilibrium was not long in re-eſtabliſhing itſelf; and theſe foreign traders made advantages that were conſiderable, when the court of Madrid, in 1718, took effectual meaſures to remove them from theſe latitudes, which they had but too long frequented.

It was not, however, till 1740, that the Spaniards began themſelves to double Cape Horn. They employed ſhips and pilots from Saint Malo in their firſt voyages: but a little experience ſoon enabled them to go without theſe foreign aſſiſtances; and theſe ſtormy ſeas ſoon grew more familiar to their navigators, than they had ever been to their maſters in this career.

Is Peru as rich as it was formerly?

Till then, the high opinion that had been always entertained, and for a long time with reaſon, of the riches of Peru, had been kept up. The court of Spain accuſed the ſmuggling trade of having turned aſide the greateſt part of them; and they flattered themſelves that the new ſyſtem they adopted would bring them back into their ports in as great abundance as at the moſt diſtant periods. A demonſtration, to which it was impoſſible not to accede, convinced the moſt incredulous perſons, that the mines of this part of the New World were no longer what they had been, and that the void they had left had not been filled up by any other objects.

From 1748 to 1753, Lima received from Spain, for all Peru, ten ſhips, which brought back every year 30,764,617 livres [1,281,859l. 6d.]. This ſum was compoſed of 4,594,192 livres [191,404l. 13s. 6d.] in gold; of 20,673,657 livres [861,402l. 7s. 6d.] in ſilver; and of 5,496,768 livres [229,032l. 10s.] in various productions.

Theſe productions were thirty-one thouſand quintals of cacao, which were ſold in Europe for 3,240,000 livres [135,000l.]. Six hundred quintals of bark, which were ſold for 207,360 livres [8640l.]. Four hundred and ſeventy quintals of Vicuna wool, which were ſold for 324,000 livres [13,500l.]. Ten thouſand eight hundred and fifty quintals of copper, which were ſold for 810,108 livres [33,792l.]. Ten thouſand ſix hundred quintals of tin, which were ſold for 915,300 livres [38,137l. 10s.].

Of the gold and ſilver, 1,620,000 livres [67,500l.] belonged to the government; 19,422,671 livres [809,277l. 19s. 2d.] to trade; and 4,225,178 livres [176,049l. 1s. 8d.] to the clergy, and the civil and military officers.

Of the merchandiſe, there were 1,381,569 livres [57,565l. 7s. 6d.] for the crown; and 4,115,199 livres [171,466l. 12s. 6d.] for the merchants.

Time hath produced ſome little change in affairs, but the improvement is not conſiderable.

BOOK VIII.

Conqueſt of Chili and Paraguay by the Spaniards. Account of the Events that have accompanied and followed the Invaſion of theſe Countries. Principles on which Spain regulates her Colonies.

BOOK VIII.

Have the Europeans had a right to found colonies in the New World?

REASON and equity both allow the foundation of colonies; but they point out the principles from which we ought not to deviate in eſtabliſhing them.

Any number of men, however conſiderable, coming into a foreign and unknown country, are to be conſidered only as one ſingle man. Strength increaſes with numbers, but the right is ſtill the ſame. If one or two hundred men can ſay, *this country belongs to us*, one man may ſay the ſame.

The country is either deſert, or partly deſert; and partly peopled, or it is entirely peopled.

If it be entirely peopled, I have no right to claim any thing but hoſpitality, and the aſſiſtance which one man owes to another. If I ſhould be expoſed to periſh with cold or hunger upon any ſhore, I ſhall make uſe of my weapon, I ſhall take what I want by force, and I ſhall kill any one who reſiſts me. But when I have obtained an aſylum, fire and water, bread and ſalt, the people have fulfilled their obligations towards me. If I require more, I become a thief and an aſſaſſin. I have been, however, ſuffered to remain among them, and have made myſelf acquainted with their laws and manners. They ſuit my inclinations, and I am deſirous of ſettling in the country. If the people conſent, it is a favour they do me; if they refuſe, I have no right to be offended. The Chineſe are, perhaps, bad politicians, when they ſhut the gates of their empire againſt us; but they are not unjuſt. Their country is ſufficiently populous, and we are gueſts of too dangerous a nature.

If the country be partly deſert and partly occupied, the deſerted part belongs to me; for I may take poſſeſſion of it by my labour. The former inhabitant would be barbarous, if he came ſuddenly to overthrow my hut, deſtroy my plantations, and pillage my fields. I may repel his irruption by force. I may extend my domain to the confines of his. The foreſts, the rivers, and the ſhores of the ſea, are common to us both, unleſs the excluſive uſe of them ſhould be neceſſary to his ſubſiſtence. All he can require of me further, is, that I ſhould be a peaceable neighbour, and that my eſtabliſhment ſhould have no threatening aſpect to him. Every nation is authoriſed to provide for its future and preſent ſafety. If I make a formidable incloſure, if I collect arms, if I raiſe fortifications, its deputies will be wiſe, if they come to tell me, Art thou our friend or our enemy? If a friend, what is the uſe of all theſe warlike preparations? If an enemy, you will give us leave to deſtroy them; and the nation will act prudently, if at the inſtant they get rid of their well-founded apprehenſions. With much greater reaſon may they expel and exterminate me, without offence to the laws of humanity and juſtice, if I ſeize upon their wives, their children, or their property; if I make any attempts againſt their civil liberty; if I reſtrain them in their religious opinions; if I pretend to give them laws; and if I wiſh to enſlave them. I then become one wild beaſt more in their neighbourhood; and they owe me no more pity than they would a tiger. If I have proviſions which they want, and if they have ſome that are uſeful to me, I may propoſe exchanges. We are both of us at liberty to ſet what price we chooſe on what belongs to us. A needle is of more real value to a people reduced to the neceſſity of ſewing the ſkins of the beaſts which cover them with the bone of a fiſh, than their ſilver can be to me. A ſabre, or a hatchet, will be of infinite value to him who ſupplies the place of theſe inſtruments with cutting ſtones, fixed in a piece of wood hardened in the fire. Beſides, I have croſſed the ſeas to bring theſe uſeful articles; and I ſhall croſs them again to carry back into my country the things I have taken in exchange. The expences of the voyage, the averages, and the dangers, muſt therefore enter into the calculation. If I laugh within myſelf at the abſurdity of the man who gives me up his gold for iron, he, in his turn, laughs at me, who give him up my iron, all the uſefulneſs of which he knows, for his gold, which is of no ſervice to him. We are both mutually impoſed upon, or rather, indeed, there is no impoſition on one ſide or the other. Exchanges ought to be perfectly free. If I want to take away by force what is denied me, or to compel by violence the acceptance of what is rejected, they have a legal right to confine me, or to drive me away. If I ſeize upon the foreign commodity without offering the price for it, or if I carry it away clandeſtinely, I am a thief, who may be killed without ſcruple.

A deſert and uninhabited country is the only one we can appropriate to ourſelves. The firſt diſcovery, being well aſcertained, was a legitimate taking of poſſeſſion.

From theſe principles, which appear to me founded in truth, let the European nations judge of themſelves, and give themſelves what name they deſerve. Their navigators arrive in a part of the New World which is not occupied by any of the people belonging to the Old, and they immediately bury in the ground a ſmall plate of metal upon which they have engraved theſe words: THIS DISTRICT BELONGS TO US. And why does it belong to you? Are you not as unjuſt and as fooliſh as ſavages, who, being thrown by chance upon your coaſts, ſhould write upon the ſand of your ſhore, or upon the bark of your trees: THIS COUNTRY BELONGS TO US? You have no right over the inſenſible and brute part of the creation, over the ſoil where you land; and yet you arrogate one over man, who is your fellow-creature. Inſtead of acknowledging in this man a brother, you conſider him only as a ſlave, or beaſt of burden. O my fellow-citizens! you think and you act in this manner, although you have notions of juſtice, a ſyſtem of morality, a holy religion, and one common Parent with thoſe whom you treat ſo tyrannically. This reproach ſhould be addreſſed more particularly to the Spaniards; and it will unfortunately be ſtill more juſtified by the enormities they have committed in the country of Chili.

Firſt irruptions of the Spaniards into Chili.

This region, ſuch as it is poſſeſſed by the Spaniards, hath one common breadth of thirty leagues between the ſea and the Cordeleirias, and nine hundred leagues of coaſt, from the great deſert of Atacamas, which ſeparates it from Peru, to the iſlands of Chiloe, which divide it from the country of the Patagonians.

The Incas had prevailed upon part of the inhabitants of this vaſt region to ſubmit to their wiſe laws, and intended to ſubdue the whole, had they not met with inſuperable difficulties.

This important project was reſumed by the Spaniards, as ſoon as they had conquered the principal provinces of Peru. In the beginning of 1535, Almagro ſet out from Cuſco with five hundred and ſeventy Europeans, and fifteen thouſand Peruvians. He traverſed at firſt the country of Carcas, to which the mines of Potoſi have ſince given ſo much celebrity. To go from this country to Chili, there were but two ways known, and they were both conſidered as impracticable. The firſt preſented along the borders of the ſea nothing but burning ſands, without water and without ſubſiſtence. To purſue the ſecond, it was neceſſary to croſs very ſteep mountains of a prodigious height, and covered with ſnows as old as the creation. Theſe difficulties did not diſcourage the general; and he determined upon the laſt of theſe, for no other reaſon than becauſe it was the ſhorteſt. His ambition was the deſtruction of one hundred and fifty Spaniards, and ten thouſand Indians: but at length he accompliſhed his deſign, and was received with the greateſt marks of ſubmiſſion by the nations that had been formerly under the dominion of the empire that had juſt been ſubverted. The terror of his arms would, probably, have procured him greater advantages, had not ſome concerns of a private nature brought him back to the centre of the empire. His little army refuſed to repaſs the Cordeleirias; and he was obliged to bring it back by the way he had firſt neglected. It accidentally met with ſo many fortunate circumſtances, that it ſuffered much leſs than had been expected. This good ſucceſs enlarged the views of Almagro, and precipitaten him, perhaps, into thoſe enterpriſes which occaſioned his fatal end.

The Spaniards appeared again in Chili in 1541. Valdivia, their leader, entered it without the leaſt oppoſition. The nations that inhabited it were no ſooner recovered from the aſtoniſhment with which they had been ſeized at the view of the European arms and diſcipline, than they wiſhed to regain their independence. The war continued inceſſantly for ten years. If ſome diſtricts, diſcouraged by repeated loſſes, reſolved at laſt to ſubmit, many of them obſtinately perſiſted in the defence of their liberty, though they were generally defeated.

An Indian captain, whoſe age and infirmities confined him to his hut, was continually told of theſe miſfortunes. The grief of ſeeing his people always beaten by a handful of ſtrangers, inſpired him with courage. He formed thirteen companies of a thouſand men each, arranged them in file, and led them againſt the enemy. If the firſt company was routed, it was not to fall back upon the next, but to rally, and be ſupported by it.

This order, which was ſtrictly obeyed, diſconcerted the Spaniards. They forced through all the companies one after another, without gaining any material advantage. As both the men and horſes wanted reſt, Valdivia retreated towards a defile, where he judged he could eaſily defend himſelf; but the Indians did not allow him time ſufficient to ſecure his retreat thither. Their rear marched through bye-ways, and took poſſeſſion of the defile; while their vanguard followed him with ſo much precaution, that he was ſurrounded and maſſacred, together with his hundred and fifty men. It is ſaid, that the ſavages poured melted gold down his throat, exclaiming with exultation, *glut thyſelf with that metal thou art ſo fond of.* They availed themſelves of this victory, to burn and deſtroy many of the European ſettlements, which would all have ſhared the ſame fate, had not the Spaniards been timely aſſiſted by ſome conſiderable reinforcements from Perù, which enabled them to defend their remaining poſts, and to recover thoſe they had loſt.

The Spaniards have been obliged to be continually engaged in hoſtilities in Chili. Manner in which their enemies make war.

Theſe fatal hoſtilities have been renewed, in proportion as the uſurpers have wiſhed to extend their empire, and frequently even when they did not entertain this ambitious deſign. The engagements have been very bloody, and have ſcarce ever been interrupted, except by truces of more or leſs duration. Since the year 1771, however, tranquillity hath not been diſturbed.

The people of Arauco are the moſt common, the moſt intrepid, and the moſt irreconcileable enemies the Spaniards have in theſe regions. They are often joined by the inhabitants of Tucapel, and of the river Biobio, and by thoſe who extend towards the Cordeleirias. As their manners bear a greater reſemblance to thoſe of the ſavages of North America, than to thoſe of the Peruvians, their neighbours, the confederacies they make are always formidable.

When they go to war, they carry nothing with them, and want neither tents nor baggage. The ſame trees from which they gather their food, ſupply them with lances and darts. As they are ſure of finding in one place what they had in another, they willingly reſign any country which they are unable to defend. All places are equally indifferent to them. Their troops, free from all encumbrance of proviſions and ammunition, march with ſurpriſing agility. They expoſe their lives like men who ſet little value on them; and, if they loſe the field of battle, they are not at a loſs for magazines and encampments wherever there is ground covered with fruits.

Theſe are the only people of the New World who have ventured to try their ſtrength with the Spaniards in the open field, and who have thought of the uſe of the ſling to lance the ſtroke of death from afar againſt the enemy. They are ſo bold, that they will attack the beſt fortified poſts. They ſometimes ſucceed in theſe violent attacks, becauſe they are continually receiving ſuccours, which prevent them from being ſenſible of their loſſes. If theſe be ſo conſiderable as to oblige them to deſiſt, they retire to the diſtance of a few leagues; and five or ſix days after, they direct their attacks to another poſt. Theſe barbarians never think themſelves beaten, unleſs they be ſurrounded. If they can reach a place of difficult acceſs, they think themſelves conquerors. The head of a Spaniard, which they carry off in triumph, comforts them for the loſs of a hundred Indians.

Sometimes hoſtilities are foreſeen for a conſiderable time before, and are concerted with prudence. Very frequently a drunken fellow wantonly calls to arms; the alarm is inſtantly ſpread, a chief is choſen, and war is determined. A certain night is immediately fixed upon, in the dead of which, the time they always chooſe for the commencement of hoſtilities, they fall upon the next village where there are Spaniards, and from thence proceed to others. They murder all the inhabitants, except the white women, whom they always take to themſelves. This is the origin of the many white and fair Indians that are to be met with.

As theſe Americans carry on war without expence or inconvenience, they have nothing to apprehend from its continuance; and it is a conſtant rule with them never to ſue for peace. The pride of Spain muſt always condeſcend to make the firſt overtures. When theſe are favourably received, a conference is holden. The governor of Chili and the Indian general, attended by the moſt diſtinguiſhed captains on both ſides, ſettle the terms of accommodation, at a convivial meeting. Theſe meetings were formerly holden on the frontiers; but the two laſt were in the capital of the colony. The ſavages have even been prevailed upon to keep conſtantly ſome deputies there, who are commiſſioned to maintain harmony between the two nations.

Settlements formed by the Spaniards at Chili.

Notwithſtanding the violence and obſtinacy of ſo many engagements, ſeveral good ſettlements have been formed at Chili, chiefly on the borders of the ocean.

Coquimbo, or La Serena, a town built in 1544, at the diſtance of five or ſix hundred toiſes from the ſea, to contain the Indians, and to ſecure the communication between Chili and Peru, was never a place of importance. It became ſtill leſs conſiderable after having been pillaged and burnt by pirates. Notwithſtanding the fertility of its territory, and although plentiful mines of the fineſt copper have been diſcovered in its neighbourhood, it hath never entirely got the better of this misfortune.

Valparaiſo was at firſt nothing more than a collection of huts, deſtined to receive the merchandiſe coming from Peru, and the proviſions that were to be ſent there. By degrees the factors of this trade, which belonged entirely to the merchants of the capital, ſucceeded in appropriating it to themſelves. Then this wretched hamlet, though in a very diſagreeable ſituation, became a flouriſhing city. Its harbour runs a league into the land. The bottom of it is a tenacious and firm kind of mud. At the diſtance of a thouſand toiſes from the ſhore, there are from thirty-ſix to forty fathoms of water, and from fifteen to ſixteen quite cloſe to the ſhore. In the months of April and May, the north winds would expoſe the ſhips to ſome danger, if care were not taken to faſten their anchors ſtrongly. The advantage which this port hath of being the neareſt to the beſt plantations, and to Saint Yago, may relieve it from the apprehenſion of ſeeing its proſperity diminiſh.

In 1550, the town of La Conception was built on an uneven and ſandy ſoil, a little raiſed, upon the borders of a bay which is near four leagues in circumference, and which hath three ports, one of which only is ſafe. The town was at firſt the capital of the colony: but the neighbouring Indians ſo frequently made themſelves maſters of it, that, in 1574, it was thought proper to deprive it of this uſeful and honourable diſtinction. In 1603, it was again deſtroyed by an implacable enemy. Since that period, it hath received very conſiderable damages from ſeveral earthquakes. Such, however, is the excellence of its territory, that it ſtill retains ſome degree of ſplendour.

At the diſtance of ſeventy-five leagues from Conception iſland, and ſtill on the borders of the Pacific Ocean, ſtands Valdivia, a town more important than it is populous. Its harbour and fortreſs, which are conſidered as the key of the South Sea, were for a long time under the immediate inſpection of the viceroys of Peru. It was at length found that this was too diſtant a ſuperintendence; and the place was incorporated with the government of the province.

No one had yet thought of the iſlands of Chiloe. The good fortune which the Jeſuits had had, of collecting and civilizing a great number of ſavages in the chief of them, which is fifty leagues long, and ſeven or eight broad, excited a deſire of ſettling in them. In the centre are the converted Indians. On the eaſtern coaſt a fortification, named Chacao, hath been built, where the garriſon neceſſary for its defence is maintained.

In the inland part of the country is Saint Yago, haſtily built in 1541, deſtroyed in 1730 by an earthquake, and immediately after rebuilt, in a ſtyle ſo pleaſant, and with ſuch conveniencies, as are very rarely found in the New World. The houſes, indeed, are low, and conſtructed with bricks hardened in the ſun: but they are all white on the outſide, all painted within. They have all large gardens, and are refreſhed with running ſtreams. This city reckons forty thouſand inhabitants; and the number would be ſtill greater, were it not for nine convents of monks, and ſeven of nuns, which have been erected there by ſuperſtition.

Among the number of unfortunate auſpices under which the diſcovery of the New World was made, we muſt not forget the importance which the prevailing ſpirit of ſuperſtition then gave to the monks; an importance which in ſome countries hath ſince been conſiderably diminiſhed; which ſeems to ſtruggle powerfully againſt the progreſs of ſcience in others; which ſtill prevails with imperious ſway in thoſe poſſeſſions that are diſtant from Spain, and which would yet leave traces as permanent as they are fatal, if even they were from this moment counteracted by all the authority of the miniſtry.

Saint Yago is the capital of the ſtate and the ſeat of empire. The commandant there is ſubordinate to the viceroy of Peru in all matters relating to the government, to the finances, and to war: but he is independent of him as chief adminiſtrator of juſtice, and preſident of the royal audience. Eleven corregidors, diſtributed in the province, are charged, under his orders, with the details of adminiſtration.

A population of four or five hundred thouſand perſons hath ſucceſſively been formed in this diſtrict. There are but few here of thoſe unfortunate ſlaves that Africa ſupplies; and moſt of them are devoted to domeſtic ſervice. The deſcendants of the firſt ſavages, who were ſubdued with ſo much difficulty by a ſet of ferocious adventurers, have either taken refuge among inacceſſible mountains, or are confounded with their conquerors. All the coloniſts are conſidered and treated as Spaniards. The pride of this deſcent hath not inſpired them with that invincible averſion for uſeful labour, which is ſo univerſal in their nation. Moſt of theſe healthy, active, and robuſt men live upon ſeparate plantations, and cultivate, with their own hands, a territory of greater or leſs extent.

Fertility of Chili, and its preſent ſtate.

They are encouraged in theſe commendable labours, by a ſky always pure, and always ſerene; by a climate the moſt agreeably temperate of any in the two hemiſpheres; and ſtill more by a ſoil, the fertility of which aſtoniſhes all travellers. Upon this fortunate land, the crops of the vine, of corn, and of the olive, although little care hath been taken in the cultivation, are four times as much as thoſe we obtain in Europe, with all our induſtry and with all our ſkill. None of the fruits of the earth have degenerated. Several of our animals have improved, and the horſes, in particular, have acquired a ſpeed and a ſpirit, which thoſe of Andaluſia, from which they deſcend, never had. Nature hath carried her favours ſtill farther, in beſtowing upon this region an excellent kind of copper, which is employed, with advantage, in the Old and in the New World. Gold is likewiſe found here.

Before the year 1750, the treaſury had not received in any year, for its twentieth of this precious metal, more than 50,220 livres [2092l. 10s.]. At this period a mint was eſtabliſhed in the colony; and this innovation was attended with favourable conſequences. In 1771, the royal duties amounted to 200,032 livres 4 ſols [8334l. 13s. 6d.]; and it muſt have increaſed conſiderably ſince. The alcavala, and the cuſtoms, did not produce more than 324,000 livres [13,500l.], and they now bring in 1,080,000 livres [45,000l.]. Theſe ſeveral branches of revenue are increaſed ſince 1753, by the excluſive ſale of tobacco.

Accordingly, Chili is no longer obliged to draw any thing from the coffers of Peru for its public expences. The moſt conſiderable of theſe is the maintenance of the troops. It amounts to 490,125 livres 12 ſols [20,421l. 18s.], for the pay of a thouſand infantry, of two hundred and forty horſe, and of two companies of well-affected Indians; which, ſince 1754, form the eſtabliſhment of the country. Excluſive of theſe forces, which are diſtributed in the iſlands Juan Fernandez, and of Chiloe, and in the ports of La Conception, and of Val Paraiſo, upon the frontiers of the Andes, there is in Valdivia a particular garriſon of ſeven hundred and forty-ſix ſoldiers, the maintenance of which coſts 655,473 livres 12 ſols [27,311l. 8s.]. Theſe means of defence would be ſupported, if neceſſary, by a very numerous militia. Perhaps, the infantry of theſe forces would make but little reſiſtance, notwithſtanding the pains that have been lately taken to exerciſe them: but ſome exertions might reaſonably be expected from the beſt horſemen there are, perhaps, on the globe.

Trade of Chili with the ſavages, with Peru, and with Paraguay.

Chili hath always had commercial connections with the neighbouring Indians on its frontiers, with Peru, and with Paraguay.

The ſavages ſupply it chiefly with the Pancho. This is a woollen ſtuff, ſometimes white, and generally blue, about three ells long, and two in breadth. The head is paſſed through a hole made in the middle, and it falls down on all the parts of the body. Except on occaſions of ſome ceremonies that are very unfrequent, the men and women, the common people, and perſons of a more elevated rank, uſe no other clothing. It coſts from thirty to one thouſand livres [from 1l. 5s. to 41l. 13s. 4d.], according to the degree of its fineneſs, and eſpecially according to the borders, more or leſs elegant, and more or leſs rich, that are added to it. Theſe people receive in exchange ſmall looking-glaſſes, toys, and ſome other articles of little value. Whatever may be their paſſion for theſe trifles, when they are diſplayed before them, they would never go out of their foreſts and fields in ſearch of them; it is therefore always neceſſary that they ſhould be carried to them. The merchant who wiſhes to undertake this little trade, applies in the firſt inſtance to the heads of the families, who are the ſole depoſitaries of the public authority. When he hath obtained permiſſion to ſell, he goes through the habitations, and gives his merchandiſe indiſcriminately to all the perſons who aſk for it. Having finiſhed this buſineſs, he gives notice of his departure, and every one who hath purchaſed any thing of him, brings, without delay, to the village where he firſt made his appearance, the goods agreed for between them. There hath never been any inſtance of diſhoneſty in this traffic. The merchant is allowed an eſcort to aſſiſt him in conducting the cloths and the cattle he hath received in payment to the frontiers of the country.

It is not from what we find in the midſt of foreſts, but from what we obſerve in the centre of poliſhed ſocieties, that we learn to deſpiſe and to miſtruſt mankind. If any of our merchants, in any one of our fairs, were indiſcriminately to diſtribute his goods, without ſecurity for the payment of them, to whomſoever ſhould come to receive them, is it to be imagined that he would ever again ſee the people return with the price of the things they had purchaſed? A ſavage, unreſtrained by laws, would not be guilty of thoſe things which men who are under the influence of honour, and the controul of civil and religious laws, would not bluſh to commit, to the diſgrace of our religion, of our policy, and of our morals.

Wine and brandy were ſold, till the year 1724, to theſe people, who, like moſt other ſavages, are exceſſively fond of them. When they were intoxicated they uſed to take up arms, maſſacre all the Spaniards they met with, and ravage the country near their dwellings. It is ſeldom that the corrupter doth not receive his puniſhment from the very perſon he hath corrupted. Frequent inſtances of this are ſeen in children with reſpect to their fathers, who have neglected their education; in women towards their huſbands, whoſe morals are bad; in ſlaves, towards their maſters; in ſubjects towards their ſovereigns, when neglected by them; in a ſubdued nation towards the uſurpers. We ourſelves have been puniſhed for the vices we have transferred into the other hemiſphere; among ourſelves and among people of the New World, whom we have ſubdued; among ourſelves, by the multitude of factitious wants we have created: among them, in a variety of ways, and particularly by teaching them the uſe of ſpirituous liquors, which hath often animated them with artificial fury, which they have turned againſt us. In whatever manner we proceed, whether by ſuperſtition, by patriotiſm itſelf, or by ſpirituous liquors, in depriving man of his reaſon, it cannot be done without fatal conſequences. If we intoxicate him, whatever may be the nature of the intoxication, it will ſoon go off, or it will be productive of miſchief.

Drunkenneſs, or an habitual exceſs in the uſe of ſpirituous liquors, is a coarſe and brutal vice, which deprives the mind of its vigour, and the body of part of its ſtrength. It is an infringement of the law of nature, which forbids man to forfeit his reaſon, the only advantage which diſtinguiſhes him from other animals, who live on the ſurface of the globe.

This irregularity, though always blameable, is not equally ſo every where, becauſe it is not attended with the ſame inconveniences in all regions. Generally ſpeaking, it makes men furious in hot countries, and only renders them ſtupid in cold ones. It hath therefore been neceſſary to forbid it with more ſtrictneſs in one climate than in another. From hence it hath happened, that wherever a regular form of government hath been eſtabliſhed, this vice is become more uncommon under the equator than towards the pole.

This is not the caſe among ſavage nations. Thoſe of the ſouth not being more reſtrained than thoſe of the north, by the magiſtrate or by habit, they have all devoted themſelves with equal fury to their paſſion for ſtrong liquors. It hath been a part of the policy of the Europeans, to ſupply the ſavages with them, either for the purpoſe of ſtripping or of enſlaving them, or even to induce them to employ themſelves in ſome uſeful labours. Theſe liquors have ſcarce been leſs deſtructive to theſe people than our arms; and we cannot forbear to rank them among the number of calamities with which we have loaded the other hemiſphere.

Spain is to be commended for having at length abſtained from ſelling to the inhabitants of Chili wine and brandy. This prudent ſtep hath evidently increaſed the connections that were kept up with them: but it is not poſſible that they ſhould for a long time become ſo conſiderable as thoſe that are maintained with Peru.

Chili ſupplies Peru with hides, dried fruit, copper, ſalt meat, horſes, hemp, and corn, and receives in exchange, tobacco, ſugar, cocoa, earthen ware, ſome manufactures made at Quito, and ſome articles of luxury brought from Europe. The ſhips ſent from Callao on this traffic, which is reciprocally uſeful, were formerly bound for Conception Bay, but now come to Valparaiſo. During the courſe of near a century, no navigator in theſe tranquil ſeas would venture to loſe ſight of land; and then theſe voyages laſted a whole year.

A pilot of the Old World having at length obſerved the winds, performed the navigation in one month. He was conſidered as a wizard, and he was taken up by order of the inquiſition, whoſe ignorance becomes an object of ridicule, when its cruelty doth not excite our abhorrence. The journal he produced was his vindication; and it plainly appeared that to perform the ſame voyage, it was only neceſſary to keep clear of the coaſts. His method was, therefore, univerſally adopted.

Chili ſends to Paraguay wines, brandy, oil, and chiefly gold; and receives in payment mules, wax, cotton, the herb of Paraguay, negroes, and alſo much of the merchandiſe of our hemiſphere, before the merchants of Lima had obtained, either by bribery, or by their influence, that this laſt branch of commerce ſhould be prohibited. The communication between the two colonies is not carried on by ſea; it hath been found more expeditious, ſafer, and even leſs expenſive, to go by land, though there are three hundred and ſixty-four leagues, from St. Jago to Buenos Ayres, and that more than forty of theſe are amidſt the ſnows and precipices of the Cordeleirias.

If the connections between theſe two eſtabliſhments ſhould be multiplied or extended, they muſt be kept up by the Straits of Magellan; or by Cape Horn. It hath been hitherto a matter of doubt which of theſe two ways was the beſt; but the problem ſeems to be ſolved by the obſervations of the laſt navigators. They almoſt generally prefer the Straits, on account of a quantity of freſh water, wood, fiſh, ſhell-fiſh, and the infinite number of plants, ſpecific remedies againſt the ſcurvy, that are to be found there. But this preference can only take place from September to March, that is to ſay, in the ſummer months. During the ſhort days of winter, it would be neceſſary to ſail only for a few hours, or to brave, in a channel moſt commonly narrow, the violence of the winds, the rapidity of the currents, and the impetuoſity of the waves, with an almoſt moral certainty of being ſhipwrecked. In this ſeaſon of the year, the open ſea, and conſequently the doubling of Cape Horn, is to be preferred.

A number of combinations, palpably abſurd, have conſtantly deprived Chili of every immediate connection with Spain. The little merchandiſe of our hemiſphere which this country could conſume came to it from Peru, which received them itſelf with difficulty, and at a great expence, by the road of Panama. The fate of Chili was not even changed when the ſailing by Cape Horn was ſubſtituted to that which was practiſed by the iſthmus of Darien; and it was not till very late, that the ſhips which uſed to coaſt this country in their way to Lima, were permitted to leave ſome ſmall portion of their cargoes. At length, a more agreeable proſpect hath opened itſelf to this beautiful country. Since the month of February 1778, all the ports of the mother-country are allowed to trade there at pleaſure. This fortunate adoption of the true principles of commerce muſt be attended with the greateſt ſucceſs;

and this innovation will have the ſame influence over Paraguay.

The Spaniards diſcover Paraguay. Extravagance of their conduct during two centuries.

This is an immenſe region, bounded on the north by Peru and the Brazils, on the ſouth by the country bordering on the Straits of Magellan, on the eaſt by the Brazils, and on the weſt by Chili and Peru.

The Paraguay derives its name from a large river which all geographers have ſuppoſed to proceed from the lake Xarayes. The Spaniſh and Portugueſe commiſſioners, appointed in 1751 to regulate the limits of the two empires, were much ſurpriſed to meet each other at the origin of this river, without having perceived this maſs of waters, which was ſaid to be immenſe. They aſcertained, that what had been before taken for a prodigious lake, was nothing more than a very low portion of land, covered, from the ſixteenth to the nineteenth degree of latitude, in the rainy ſeaſon, by the overflowings of the river. Since that period, it is known that the Paraguay river takes its riſe in the flat country called *Campo des Paracis*, in the thirteenth degree of ſouthern latitude; and that towards the eighteenth degree, it communicates, by ſome very narrow channels, with two great lakes in the country of the Chiquitos.

Before the arrival of the Spaniards, this immenſe country contained a great number of nations, moſt of them conſiſting of a few families. Their manners muſt have been the ſame; and if there had been any difference in their characters, it would not have been perceived by the ſtupid adventurers who had firſt ſhed the blood of this part of the New World. Theſe people lived upon hunting, fiſhing, wild fruits, honey, which was commonly found in the foreſts, and roots that grew ſpontaneous. With a view of procuring greater plenty of wood, they were perpetually wandering from one diſtrict to another. As the Indians had nothing to remove but a few earthen veſſels, and as branches of trees could be found every where to build huts with, theſe emigrations were attended with few encumbrances. Though they all lived in a ſtate of abſolute independence, yet the neceſſity of mutual defence had obliged them to connect their intereſts. Some individuals united under the direction of a leader of their own choice. Theſe aſſociations, which were more or leſs numerous, in proportion to the reputation and abilities of the chief, were as eaſily diſſolved as formed.

The diſcovery of the river Paraguay was made in 1515, by Diaz de Solis, a noted pilot of Caſtile. He and moſt of his men were maſſacred by the natives, who, to avoid being enſlaved, ſome years after alſo deſtroyed the Portugueſe of Brazil.

The two rival nations, equally alarmed by theſe calamities, gave up all thoughts of Paraguay, and turned their avaricious views towards another place. The Spaniards accidentally returned there in 1526.

Sebaſtian Cabot, who in 1496 had made the diſcovery of Newfoundland for the crown of England, finding that kingdom was too much taken up with domeſtic affairs to think of making ſettlements in a new world, offered his ſervices to Caſtile, where his reputation made him be fixed upon to conduct an important expedition.

The *Victory*, celebrated for being the firſt ſhip that ever ſailed round the world, and the only one of Magellan's ſquadron that returned to Europe, had brought back from the Eaſt Indies a great quantity of ſpices. The great profit that was made from the ſale of them, occaſioned a ſecond expedition, the command of which was given to Cabot. In purſuing the track of the former voyage, he arrived at the mouth of the Plata. Whether he was in want of proviſions neceſſary for a longer voyage, or whether, which is more probable, his men began to be mutinous, he ſtopped there. He even ſailed up the river, gave it the name of *La Plata*, becauſe, among the ſpoils of a few Indians, inhumanly put to death, ſome ornaments of gold and ſilver had been found, and built a kind of fortreſs at the entrance of the river Riotecero, which comes down from the mountains of Tucuman. The oppoſition he met with from the inhabitants of the country, made him judge, that, in order to form a ſolid eſtabliſhment, other means were wanting ſuperior to thoſe he had; and, in 1530, he went to Spain in order to ſolicit them. Thoſe of his companions whom he had left in the colony were moſt of them maſſacred, and the few who eſcaped from the arrows of the enemy ſoon followed him.

Some more conſiderable forces, led by Mendoza, appeared on the river in 1535, and laid the foundations of Buenos-Ayres. They were ſoon reduced to the neceſſity of periſhing with hunger within their palliſades, or of devoting themſelves to certain death, if they ventured to go out of them in order to procure ſubſiſtence. A return into Europe ſeemed to be the only way of relief from ſo deſperate a ſituation: but the Spaniards had perſuaded themſelves that the inland countries abounded in mines; and this prejudice induced them to perſevere. They abandoned a place where they could no longer remain, and went to found, in 1536, a colony on the iſland of Aſſumption, three hundred leagues up the country, but ſtill on the banks of the ſame river. By this change, they evidently removed further from the aſſiſtance of the mother-country; but they imagined it brought them nearer the ſource of riches; and their avidity was ſtill greater than their foreſight.

They were ſtill, however, reduced to the neceſſity of periſhing, unleſs they could ſucceed in diminiſhing the extreme antipathy the ſavages bore them. The marriage of the Spaniards with the Indian women appeared calculated to effect this great change; and it was accordingly reſolved upon. From the union of two ſuch different nations ſprang the race of the Meſtees, which, in proceſs of time, became ſo common in South America. Thus it is the fate of the Spaniards, in all parts of the world, to be a mixed race. The blood of the Moors ſtill flows in their veins in Europe, and that of the ſavages in the other hemiſphere. Perhaps this mixture may be of advantage, if it be a fact that men, as well as animals, are improved by croſſing the breed. It were indeed to be wiſhed that the various races of mankind were loſt in one, that there might be an end of thoſe national antipathies, which only ſerve to perpetuate the calamities of war, and all the ſeveral paſſions that deſtroy the human ſpecies. But diſcord ſeems to ariſe of itſelf between brothers; can it therefore be expected that all mankind ſhould become one family, the children of which ſprung, as it were, from the ſame common parent, ſhould no longer thirſt after each other's blood? For is not this fatal thirſt excited and maintained by that of gold?

It was this ſhameful paſſion which kept up the cruelty of the Spaniards, even after the connections they had formed. They ſeemed to puniſh the Indians for their own obſtinacy in ſearching for gold where there was none. Several ſhips, which were bringing them troops and ammunition, were loſt, with all they had on board, by venturing too far up the river; but even this circumſtance could not prevent them from obſtinately perſiſting in their avaricious views, though they had ſo long been diſappointed in them; till they were compelled, by repeated orders from the mother-country, to re-eſtabliſh Buenos-Ayres.

This neceſſary undertaking was now become eaſy. The Spaniards, who had multiplied in Paraguay, were ſtrong enough to reſtrain or deſtroy the nations that might oppoſe them. Accordingly, as it had been expected, they met with little difficulty. Juan Ortiz de Zarate executed the plan in 1580, and rebuilt Buenos-Ayres upon the ſame ſpot which had been forſaken for forty years. Some of the petty nations in the neighbourhood ſubmitted to the yoke. Thoſe which were more attached to their liberty, went to a greater diſtance, with a view of removing ſtill further, in proportion as their oppreſſors ſhould extend their eſtabliſhments. Moſt of them at laſt took refuge in Chaco.

Such of the Indians as will not ſubmit to the yoke of Spain take

This country, which is two hundred and fifty leagues in length, and one hundred and fifty in breadth, is reckoned one of the beſt in America; and it is thought to be peopled with one hundred thouſand ſavages. They form, as in other parts of the New World, a great number of nations, forty-ſix or forty-ſeven of which are very imperfectly known.

refuge at Chaco.

This region is traverſed by ſeveral rivers. The Pilcomayo, more conſiderable than all the reſt, iſſues from the province of Charcas, and divides into two branches, ſeventy leagues before it empties itſelf into the Rio de la Plata. The courſe of this river appeared to be the moſt convenient way of eſtabliſhing ſettled connections between Paraguay and Peru. It was not, however, till 1702, that an attempt was made to ſail up it. The people who dwelt upon the banks underſtood very well that they ſhould ſooner or later be enſlaved if the expedition were ſucceſsful, and they prevented this misfortune by maſſacring all the Spaniards who were engaged in it.

Nineteen years after, the Jeſuits reſumed this grand project: but when they had advanced three hundred and fifty leagues, they were forced to put back, becauſe they were in want of water to continue their voyage. They were blamed for having undertaken it in the months of September, October, and November, which, in theſe countries, are the dry ſeaſons; and there is no doubt but that the enterpriſe would be ſucceſsful in the other ſeaſons of the year.

This road of communication muſt either have appeared leſs advantageous, or muſt have preſented greater difficulties than were at firſt conceived, ſince no attempt hath ſince been made to open it. The government, however, have not entirely given up their ancient project of ſubduing theſe people. After incredible fatigues, and which were for a long time uſeleſs, ſome miſſionaries have at length ſucceeded in fixing three thouſand of theſe wanderers in fourteen villages, ſeven of which are ſituated on the frontiers of Tucuman, four on the ſide of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, two towards Taixa, and only one in the neighbourhood of Aſſumption Iſland.

The Spaniards ſucceed in

Notwithſtanding the frequent incurſions of the inhabitants of Chaco, and the fury of ſome other leſs founding three large provinces. Peculiarities in each of them.

numerous colonies, Spain hath ſucceeded in forming three great provinces in this diſtrict. That which is called Tucuman is even, well watered and wholeſome. The cotton and the corn that is conſumed in the country is cultivated there with the greateſt ſucceſs; and ſome experiments have ſhown that indigo, and the other productions peculiar to the New World, would thrive there as well as in any of the ſettlements which they have enriched for ſo long a time. The foreſts are all filled with honey; and there are not, perhaps, better paſturages on the face of the globe. Moſt of the woods are of a ſuperior kind. There is one tree in particular, known by the name of Quebracho, which is ſaid to be nearly as hard, as weighty, and as durable as the beſt marble, and which, on account of the difficulty of conveyance, is ſold at Potoſi for as much as ten thouſand livres [416l. 13s. 4d.]. That portion of the Andes which is in this diſtrict is abounding in gold and copper, and ſome mines have been already opened there.

But it would require an infinite number of hands to extract from this immenſe territory the riches it contains. Notwithſtanding this, the perſons who give the moſt favourable accounts of its population do not reckon it to amount to more than one hundred thouſand inhabitants, Spaniards, Indians, and Negroes. They are collected in ſeven villages, of which Saint Yago del Eſtero is the principal, or are diſtributed upon ſcattered domains, ſome of which have more than twelve leagues in extent, and reckon as far as forty thouſand horned cattle, and ſix thouſand horſes, without including other herds of animals of leſs importance.

The province which is particularly called Paraguay is much too damp, on account of the foreſts, lakes, and rivers, with which it is covered. Accordingly, excluſive of the celebrated miſſions of the ſame name which belong to it, it is not computed to contain more than fifty-ſix thouſand inhabitants. Four hundred only are at Aſſumption, the capital; two other villages, which alſo bear the names of towns, have ſtill a leſs number. Fourteen colonies, governed upon the ſame principle as thoſe of the Guaranis, contain ſix thouſand Indians. All the reſt live in the country places, where they cultivate tobacco, cotton, and ſugar, which are ſent, with the herb of Paraguay, to Buenos-Ayres, from whence ſome mercantile articles brought from Europe are received in exchange.

This country was always expoſed to the incurſions of the Portugueſe on the eaſtern ſide, and to thoſe of the ſavages on the north and on the weſt. It was neceſſary to adopt ſome mode of driving back enemies that were moſtly implacable. Forts were conſtructed; lands were appropriated to the maintenance of them; and every citizen bound himſelf to defend them for a week in every month. Theſe arrangements, anciently made, ſtill ſubſiſt. If, however, this ſervice ſhould be diſagreeable to any one, or ſhould interfere with his buſineſs, he may be freed from it by paying from 60 to 100 livres [from 2l. 10s. to 4l. 3s. 4d.], according to his fortune.

The part which at preſent conſtitutes the province of Buenos-Ayres was originally part of that of Paraguay. It was not ſeparated from it till 1621, and it remained for a long time in the greateſt obſcurity. A fraudulent trade, which, after the peace of Utrecht, was opened with it by the ſettlements of the Portugueſe at Saint Sacrament, and which enabled it to form fixed connections with Chili and Peru, imparted to it ſome activity. The misfortune that happened to the ſquadron under Pizarro, who in 1740 was commiſſioned to protect the South Sea againſt the forces of Great Britain, increaſed its population and activity. They both received an addition of extenſion from thoſe enterpriſing men who ſettled in this country, when the courts of Madrid and of Liſbon undertook to fix the too uncertain limits of their territory. At length the war carried on in 1776, between theſe two powers, with troops ſent from Europe, contributed to give ſtill greater ſolidity to the colony.

At preſent, the two banks of the river, from the ocean to Buenos-Ayres, and from Buenos-Ayres to Santa-Fé, are either covered with numerous flocks, or tolerably well cultivated. Corn, maize, fruits, and pulſe, every thing, in a word, which ſupplies the ordinary wants of life, except wine and wood, grows there in great abundance.

Of the capital of Paraguay, and of the difficulties which navigators muſt ſurmount to get there.

Buenos-Ayres, the capital of the colony, unites many advantages. The ſituation is healthy and pleaſant, and the air temperate. It is regularly built. Its ſtreets are wide, and compoſed of houſes that are extremely low; but all of them are embelliſhed with a garden of greater or leſs extent. The public and private buildings, which fifty years ago were all made of earth, are more ſolid and commodious, ſince the natives have learned the art of making brick and lime. The number of inhabitants amounts to thirty thouſand. One ſide of the town is defended by a fortreſs, with a garriſon of ſix or ſeven hundred men; and the reſt is ſurrounded by the river. Two thouſand nine hundred and forty-three militia, Spaniards, Indians, Negroes, and free Mulattoes, are always ready to join the regulars.

The town ſtands ſixty leagues from the ſea. The ſhips get to it by ſailing up a river that wants depth; is full of iſlands, ſhoals, and rocks, and where ſtorms are more frequent and more dreadful than on the ocean. It is neceſſary to anchor every night on the ſpot they come to; and, on the moſt moderate days, a pilot muſt go before in a boat to ſound the way for the ſhip. After having ſurmounted theſe difficulties, the ſhips are obliged to ſtop at the diſtance of three leagues from the town, to put their goods on board ſome light veſſels, and to go to refit, and to wait for their cargoes, at Incenada de Barragan, ſituated ſeven or eight leagues below.

This is a kind of village, formed by ſome huts built with ruſhes, covered with hides, and ſcattered about without order. Neither magazines nor ſubſiſtence are to be found there; and the place is inhabited only by a few indolent men, from whom ſcarce any ſervice is to be expected. The mouth of a river, which is from five to ſix thouſand toiſes broad, ſerves it for a harbour. No ſhips that draw above twelve feet of water can enter it. Veſſels that require more depth are obliged to take refuge behind a neighbouring point, where the anchorage, fortunately, is more inconvenient than dangerous.

The inſufficiency of this aſylum occaſioned, in 1726, the town of Montevideo to be built forty leagues below Buenos-Ayres, and upon a bay which is two leagues in depth. It is defended on the ſide of the land by a well-conſtructed citadel, and protected on the ſide of the river by batteries judiciouſly placed. Unfortunately there are not more than four or five fathoms of water, and the veſſels are obliged to run aground. This is no great inconvenience for the merchantmen; but the men of war periſh ſpeedily upon this mud, and are eaſily warped. Some experienced navigators, on whom nature hath beſtowed a ſpirit of obſervation, have obſerved, that, with little labour and expence, one of the fineſt harbours in the world might have been conſtructed in the neighbourhood, on the river Saint Lucia. In order to effect this, the only thing neceſſary was to dig away the bank of ſand which renders the entrance of it difficult. The court of Madrid will ſooner or later be obliged to adopt this plan, ſince Maldonado, which was their only hope, is at preſent acknowledged to be one of the worſt harbours in the world.

Of the herb of Paraguay, the chief riches of the colony.

The richeſt produce that comes from the three provinces is the herb of Paraguay. It is the leaf of a middle-ſized tree, which hath not been deſcribed or obſerved by any botaniſt. The taſte is ſimilar to that of mallows, and in ſhape it reſembles an orange tree. It is divided into three ſorts. The firſt, called *caacuys*, is the bud when it juſt begins to unfold its leaves. This is far ſuperior to the other two, but will not keep ſo long, and it is therefore difficult to export it to any diſtance. The next, which is called *caamini*, is the full-grown leaf ſtripped of its ſtalks. If theſe be left on, it is called *caaguaza*, which is the third ſort. The leaves are firſt roaſted, and then kept in pits digged in the ground, and covered with bulls hides.

The mountains of Maracayu, at the eaſt ſide of Paraguay, furniſh the herb that is moſt eſteemed. The tree which produces it grows in the marſhy valleys that lie between the hills. The city of Aſſumption firſt brought this production, which was the delight of the ſavages, into repute. The exportation of it procured conſiderable riches to the town. But this advantage was not of long continuance, for all the Indians of that diſtrict were ſoon loſt in the long voyage they were obliged to take. The whole country became a deſert for forty leagues round the city; and the inhabitants were obliged to give up this trade, which was the only ſource of their wealth.

To this firſt mart ſucceeded that of Villa Rica, which was nearer to the production by thirty-ſix leagues. This alſo ſoon came to nothing, for the ſame reaſon as had occaſioned the fall of that to which it had ſucceeded.

At length, in the beginning of the century, Cunuguati was built, at the diſtance of a hundred leagues from Aſſumption, and at the foot of the mountains of Maracayu. It is at preſent the great market for the herb of Paraguay; but a competition hath lately riſen up againſt it, from a quarter where there was no reaſon to expect one.

The Guaranis, who at firſt gathered the herb only in ſufficient quantity for their own conſumption, collected it, in proceſs of time, for ſale. This employment, and the length of the voyage, kept them abſent from their colonies for a conſiderable part of the year. During this interval they were all deprived of inſtruction. Many of them periſhed by change of air and fatigue. Some grew weary of this laborious employment, and retired into the woods, where they reſumed their former way of life. Beſides, the miſſions, deprived of their defenders, were expoſed to the inroads of the enemy. Theſe evils were too numerous. To obviate them, the Jeſuits procured ſeeds from Maracayu, and ſowed them in thoſe parts of the land that were moſt analogous to the ſoil they were brought from. They grew up very rapidly, and have not degenerated, at leaſt in any ſenſible degree.

The produce of theſe plantations, added to that which grows ſpontaneouſly, is very conſiderable. Part of this remains in the three provinces. Chili and Peru conſume annually twenty-five thouſand quintals of it, which coſt them near two millions of livres [83,333l. 6s. 8d.].

This herb, which the Spaniards and other inhabitants of South America take ſo much delight in, and to which they attribute ſo many virtues, is in general uſe through this part of the New World. It is dried and reduced almoſt to powder, then put into a cup with ſugar, lemon-juice, and ſweet-ſcented paſte; boiling water is afterwards thrown upon it, and it is drunk off directly, before it hath time to turn black.

Connections of Paraguay with the neighbouring countries, and with Spain.

The herb of Paraguay is of no conſequence to Europe, which doth not conſume any of it; nor do we intereſt ourſelves more about the trade which this diſtrict carries on with the other regions of the New World in excellent mules.

This uſeful animal is generally multiplied upon the territory of Buenos-Ayres. The inhabitants of the Tucuman carry there woods for building, and wax, which they exchange every year for ſixty thouſand mules of two years old, which formerly coſt no more than three livres [2s. 6d.] each, but which now coſt from eight to ten [from 6s. 8d. to 8s. 4d.]. They are kept fourteen months in the paſtures of Cordova, eight in thoſe of Salta, and are conducted through roads of ſix, ſeven, and nine hundred leagues, by herds of fifteen hundred or two thouſand, into Peru, where they are ſold near Oruro, Cuſco, and Guanca-Velica, at the rate of ſeventy or a hundred livres [from 2l. 18s. 4d. to 4l. 3s. 4d.], according to the greater or leſs diſtance they come from.

Beſide this, the Tucuman furniſhes to Potoſi ſixteen or eighteen thouſand oxen, and four or five thouſand horſes, brought forth and reared upon its own territory. This diſtrict would ſupply twenty times as much of both, if it were poſſible to find a mart for them.

It will perhaps be a matter of more conſequence to our merchants to know the route the cargoes take which they ſend into this part of this hemiſphere.

There is ſeldom any connection between the villages ſcattered over this region, at a great diſtance from each other. Beſide that it could not be kept up without great fatigue and much danger, it would be of little uſe to men who have not any thing, or who have ſcarce any thing, to offer or to require. Buenos-Ayres alone was much intereſted in finding a vent for the merchandiſe it received from Europe, ſometimes openly, and ſometimes fraudulently; and it at laſt ſucceeded in opening a tolerably regular trade with Chili and with Peru. Originally the caravans, which carried on this traffic, had recourſe to the uſe of the needle to conduct them through the vaſt deſerts they were obliged to traverſe; but, in proceſs of time, they have travelled without this inſtrument, which is ſo neceſſary for other purpoſes of much greater importance.

At preſent carriages ſet out from Buenos-Ayres for their reſpective deſtinations. Several of them go together, in order to be able to reſiſt the ſavage nations which attack them on their march. They are all drawn by four oxen, carry fifty quintals, and travel ſeven leagues a day. Thoſe which take the route of Peru ſtop at Jugey, after having gone over four hundred and ſixty-ſeven leagues; and thoſe which are deſtined for Chili have no more than two hundred and ſixty-four to go over to reach Mendoza. The firſt receive four piaſtres, or twenty-one livres eight ſols [17s. 10d.] per quintal; and the ſecond a price proportioned to the ſpace they have travelled over. Theſe carriages are always followed by a herd of woolly and horned cattle. The travellers who are tired or fatigued with the carriage ride upon the horſes; the oxen ſerve both for food, and alſo for change in the harneſs.

The year 1764 was the fortunate period of another uſeful inſtitution. The miniſtry had at length determined to diſpatch, every two months, from Corunna, a packet-boat for Buenos-Ayres. This was a ſtaple from which it was neceſſary to ſend the letters and paſſengers into all the Spaniſh poſſeſſions in the South Sea. The paſſage was nine hundred and forty-ſix leagues to Lima, and three hundred and ſixty-four to Saint Yago; and a part of this vaſt ſpace was occupied by immenſe deſerts. An active and intelligent man contrived, however, to eſtabliſh a regular poſt from the capital of Paraguay to the capitals of Peru and Chili, to the great advantage of the three colonies, and conſequently of the mother-country.

Paraguay ſends ſeveral articles of greater or leſs importance to Spain; but they have all been brought there from neighbouring diſtricts. The only thing it furniſhes from its own territory is hides.

When the Spaniards forſook Buenos-Ayres in 1539, in order to go up the river again, they left in the neighbouring fields ſome horned cattle, which they had brought over from their own country. They multiplied to ſuch a degree, that, when the town was re-eſtabliſhed, no one choſe to appropriate them. It was afterwards found uſeful to knock them on the head, in order to ſell their hides in Europe. The manner of doing this is remarkable.

A number of huntſmen on horſeback repair to ſuch places as are moſtly frequented by the wild bulls. Each huntſman purſues the bull he fixes upon, and hamſtrings him with a ſharp iron cut in the ſhape of a creſcent, and faſtened to a long handle. When the animal falls down, the huntſman attacks others, and diſables them in the ſame manner. After ſome days ſpent in this violent exerciſe, the huntſmen return in ſearch of the bulls they have diſabled, which they flay, carry away the hides, and ſometimes the tongues, and the fat: the reſt they leave to be devoured by wild dogs or vultures.

The price of hides was ſo low at firſt, that they coſt no more than two livres [1s. 8d.]; though the buyers refuſed thoſe that had the leaſt defect, becauſe they were ſubject to the ſame tax as others that were in the beſt condition. In proceſs of time, the number of them diminiſhed ſo much, that it was neceſſary to give forty-three livres four ſols [1l. 16s.] for the large ones; thirty-ſeven livres ſixteen ſols [1l. 11s. 6d.] for thoſe of an intermediate ſize; and thirty-two livres eight ſols [1l. 7s.] for the ſmall ones. The government, which ſaw with regret this branch of commerce gradually reduced to nothing, forbade the killing of the young bulls. Some active inhabitants collected a great number of heifers in immenſe parks; and ſince theſe innovations have been made, the hides which have all the hair on, and which weigh from twenty to fifty pounds, have been lowered about a third in their price. They all pay eleven livres [9s. 2d.] to government.

From 1748 to 1753, Spain received annually from this colony 8,752,065 livres [364,669l. 7s. 6d.]. The gold that made part of this ſum amounted to 1,524,705 livres [63,529l. 17s. 6d.]; the ſilver to 3,780,000 livres [157,500l.]; and the productions to 3,447,360 livres [143,640l.]. The laſt article was compoſed of three hundred quintals of Vicuna wool, which produced 207,360 livres [8640l.]; and of one hundred and fifty thouſand hides, which brought 3,240,000 livres [135,000l.]. All this was for the benefit of trade, and none of it belonged to the government.

The mother-country will ſoon receive from this region other articles of value; both becauſe the colony of Saint Sacrament, through which the riches uſed to flow, is now taken out of the hands of the Portugueſe, and becauſe the Paraguay hath acquired a ſtate of greater importance than that which it enjoyed.

A fortunate innovation, which muſt improve

The immenſe empire which Caſtile had founded in South America, was for a long time ſubordinate to one ſingle chief. The parts that were diſtant from the

the ſtate of Paraguay.

centre of authority, were then neceſſarily abandoned to the caprices, the inexperience, and the rapacity of a multitude of ſubaltern tyrants. No Spaniard, and no Indian, was mad enough to travel thouſands of miles, in order to lay claim to juſtice, which he was almoſt certain of not obtaining. The force of habit, which ſo often ſtifles the voice of reaſon, and which governs ſtates with ſtill more abſolute ſway than it does individuals, prevented men from diſcerning the true cauſe of ſo many calamities. At length the confuſion became ſo general, that what is called the New Kingdom of Granada was detached, in 1718, from this enormous extent of dominion. It ſtill remained much too conſiderable; and the miniſtry have again confined it, in 1766, by forming of part of the dioceſe of Cuſco, of the whole of that of La Paz, of the archbiſhopric of La Plata, of the provinces of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, of Cuyo, of Tucuman, and of Paraguay, another viceroyalty; the ſeat of which is at Buenos-Ayres. The government will, undoubtedly, ſoon regulate the deſtiny of theſe ſingular miſſions, which have been rendered equally celebrated by the praiſes of their panegyriſts, as by the ſatires of their detractors.

Principles on which the Jeſuits founded their miſſions in Paraguay.

America had been laid waſte during the courſe of a century, when the Jeſuits conveyed there that indefatigable activity, which, from their firſt origin, had made them ſo ſingularly remarkable. Theſe enterpriſing men could not recal from the tomb the too numerous victims which had been unfortunately plunged into it by a blind ferociouſneſs; they could not drag out of the bowels of the earth the timid Indians whom the avarice of the conquerors obliged daily to deſcend there. Their tender anxiety was turned towards the ſavages, whom a wandering life had, till then, preſerved from the ſword and from tyranny. The plan was to draw them out of their foreſts, and to collect them into a national body, but at a diſtance from the places inhabited by the oppreſſors of the New Hemiſphere. Theſe views were crowned with more or leſs ſucceſs, in California, among the Moxos, among the Chiquitos, upon the river Amazon, and in ſome other countries. Nevertheleſs, none of their inſtitutions acquired ſo great a degree of ſplendour as that which was formed at Paraguay; becauſe it had for its baſis the maxims followed by the Incas in the government of their empire and in their conqueſts.

The deſcendants of Manco Capac uſed to march to their frontiers with armies, which at leaſt knew how to obey, to fight, and to intrench themſelves; and who, together with better offenſive weapons than thoſe of the ſavages, had alſo ſhields and defenſive weapons, which their enemies had not. They propoſed to the nation which they wanted to unite to their government, to embrace their religion, laws, and manners. Theſe invitations were moſt commonly rejected. Freſh deputies were ſent, who urged theſe matters more ſtrenuouſly than the former. Sometimes they were murdered; and the ſavages fell ſuddenly upon thoſe whom they repreſented. The troops that were attacked had generally the advantage; but they ſuſpended the fight the inſtant they had gained the victory, and treated their priſoners ſo kindly, that they afterwards inſpired their companions with an affection for a conqueror ſo humane. A Peruvian army ſeldom began the attack; and the Inca hath often been known to forbear hoſtilities, even after he had experienced the perfidy of the barbarians, and ſeveral of his ſoldiers had been murdered.

The Jeſuits, who had no army, confined themſelves to the arts of perſuaſion. They penetrated into the foreſts in ſearch of the ſavages, and prevailed upon them to renounce their old cuſtoms and prejudices, to embrace a religion which they did not comprehend, and to enjoy the ſweets of ſociety, to which they were before ſtrangers.

The Incas had another advantage over the Jeſuits, which was the nature of their religion, calculated to ſtrike the ſenſes. It is a more eaſy matter to perſuade men to worſhip the ſun, which ſeems to announce its own divinity to mortals, than to adore an inviſible God, and to believe doctrines and myſteries which they cannot comprehend. Accordingly, the miſſionaries had the prudence to civilize the ſavages in ſome meaſure, before they attempted to convert them. They did not pretend to make them Chriſtians, till they had made them men. As ſoon as they had got them together, they began to procure them every advantage they had promiſed them, and induced them to embrace Chriſtianity, when, by making them happy, they had contributed to render them tractable.

They imitated the example of the Incas in the diviſion of the lands into three ſhares; for religious purpoſes, for the public, and for individuals; they encouraged working for orphans, old people, and ſoldiers; they rewarded great actions; they inſpected or cenſured the morals of the people; they practiſed acts of benevolence; they eſtabliſhed feſtivals, and intermixed them with laborious employments; they appointed military exerciſes, kept up a ſpirit of ſubordination, invented preſervatives againſt idleneſs, and inſpired them with reſpect for religion and virtue: in a word, whatever was valuable in the legiſlation of the Incas was adopted, or even improved upon, at Paraguay.

The Incas and the Jeſuits had alike eſtabliſhed ſuch a ſyſtem of regularity and order, as prevented the commiſſion of crimes, and removed the neceſſity of puniſhment. There was hardly ſuch a thing as a delinquent in Paraguay. The morals of the people were good, and were maintained in this ſtate of purity by ſtill milder methods than had been made uſe of in Peru. The laws had been ſevere in that empire; they were not ſo among the Guaranis. Puniſhments were not dreaded there; and men feared nothing but the reproach of their own conſcience.

After the example of the Incas, the Jeſuits had eſtabliſhed the theocratical government, with an additional advantage peculiar to the Chriſtian religion: this was the practice of confeſſion, which, in Paraguay, brought the guilty perſon to the feet of the magiſtrate. There, far from palliating his crime, remorſe made him rather aggravate it; and inſtead of endeavouring to elude his puniſhment, he implored it on his knees. The more public and ſevere it was, the more did it contribute to quiet his conſcience. By theſe means, puniſhment, which in all other places is the terror of the guilty, was here conſidered as a ſource of conſolation to them, as it ſtifled the pangs of remorſe by the expiation of the guilt. The people of Paraguay had no civil laws, becauſe they knew of no property; nor had they any criminal ones, becauſe every one was his own accuſer, and voluntarily ſubmitted to puniſhment: their only laws were the precepts of religion. Theocracy would be the moſt excellent of all governments, if it were poſſible to preſerve it in its purity: but to effect this, it would be neceſſary that religion ſhould teach nothing but the duties of ſociety; that it ſhould conſider nothing as a crime but what violates the natural rights of mankind; that its precepts ſhould not ſubſtitute prayers in lieu of labour, vain ceremonies inſtead of works of charity, or imaginary ſcruples to juſt remorſe. This was not entirely the caſe at Paraguay. The Spaniſh miſſionaries had brought along with them too many of their monaſtic notions and practices. Perhaps, however, ſo much good had never been done to men, with ſo little injury.

There were more arts and conveniences in the republics of the Jeſuits, than there had been even in Cuſco itſelf, without more luxury. The uſe of coin was unknown there. The watchmaker, weaver, lockſmith, and taylor, all depoſited their works in public warehouſes. They were ſupplied with every neceſſary of life; and the huſbandman had laboured for them. The religious inſtitutors, aſſiſted by magiſtrates who were choſen by the people, attended to the ſeveral wants of the whole community.

There was no diſtinction of ſtations; and it is the only ſociety on earth where men enjoyed that equality which is the ſecond of all bleſſings; for liberty is undoubtedly the firſt.

The Incas and the Jeſuits have both inſpired men with a reverence for religion, by the dazzling pomp of external ceremonies. The temples of the ſun were as well conſtructed, and as well ornamented, as the imperfect ſtate of the arts and of the materials would allow them to be; and the churches in Paraguay are really very beautiful. Sacred muſic, that awakened their ſenſibility, affecting hymns, lively paintings, the pomp of ceremonies: every thing, in a word, conſpired to attract and to detain the Indians in theſe places of divine worſhip, where they found pleaſure blended with the exerciſes of piety.

Reaſons that have prevented the increaſe of population in theſe celebrated miſſions.

It ſhould ſeem that men muſt have multiplied conſiderably under a government where none were idle, or fatigued with labour; where the food was equal in wholeſomeneſs, plenty, and quality for all the citizens; where every one was conveniently lodged and well clothed; where the aged and the ſick, the widows and orphans, were aſſiſted in a manner unknown in all other parts of the world; where every one married from choice and not from intereſt, and where a number of children was conſidered as a bleſſing, and could never be burdenſome: where debauchery, the neceſſary conſequence of idleneſs, which equally corrupts the opulent and the poor, never tended to abridge the term of human life; where nothing ſerved to excite artificial paſſions, or contradicted thoſe that are regulated by nature and reaſon; where the people enjoyed the advantages of trade, and were not expoſed to the contagion of vice and luxury; where plentiful magazines, and a friendly intercourſe between nations united in the bonds of the ſame religion, were a ſecurity againſt any ſcarcity that might happen from the inconſtancy or inclemency of the ſeaſons; where public juſtice had never been reduced to the cruel neceſſity of condemning a ſingle malefactor to death, to ignominy, or to any puniſhment of long duration; where the very names of a tax or a law-ſuit, thoſe two terrible ſcourges which every where elſe afflict mankind, were unknown; ſuch a country muſt naturally be expected to have been the moſt populous in the world; and yet it was far from being ſo.

This empire, which began in the year 1610, extends from the river Parana, which runs into the Paragua under the 20th degree of ſouth latitude, to the Uragua that falls into the ſame river towards the 34th degree. On the banks of thoſe two great rivers, which deſcend from the mountains near Brazil, in the fertile plains that lie between them, the Jeſuits had already, in 1676, ſettled twenty-two colonies; though no account hath been given of their degree of population. In 1702, there were twenty-nine, conſiſting in all of 22,761, families, which amounted to 89,491 ſouls. No account, that can be depended upon, ever made the number of villages amount to more than thirty-two, nor that of the inhabitants to more than 121,168.

Theſe religious legiſlators have long been ſuſpected of concealing the number of their ſubjects, with a view of defrauding Spain of the tribute theſe people had voluntarily ſubmitted to pay; and the court of Madrid hath diſcovered ſome anxiety on that account. An exact inquiry hath diſpelled thoſe injurious and ill-grounded ſuſpicions. Can it with any probability be ſuppoſed, that a ſociety, whoſe idol was always glory, ſhould, for a mean and ſordid intereſt, ſacrifice a ſenſe of greatneſs, adequate to the majeſty of an eſtabliſhment they were forming with ſo much care and pains?

Thoſe who were too well acquainted with the genius of the ſociety, to charge it with ſuch injurious and illiberal accuſations, have pretended that the number of the Guaranis did not increaſe, becauſe they periſhed by working in the mines. This accuſation, urged above a hundred years ago, hath been propagated by the ſame ſpirit of avarice, envy, and malignity, that firſt invented it. The greater pains the Spaniſh miniſtry have employed in ſearch of theſe hidden treaſures, the more they have been convinced that they were all chimerical. If the Jeſuits had diſcovered any ſuch treaſures, they certainly would have taken care to conceal the diſcovery; which, if known, would have introduced every kind of vice; by which their empire would ſoon have been ſubverted, and their power totally deſtroyed.

Others are of opinion, that the oppreſſion of monkiſh government muſt have checked the population of the Guaranis. But oppreſſion conſiſts in impoſing labour and exacting tribute by compulſion; in arbitrary levies of men or money to ſupply armies and fleets, deſtined for deſtruction; in the violent execution of laws made without the conſent of the people, and contrary to the remonſtrances of the magiſtrates; in the violation of public, and the eſtabliſhment of private privilege; in the inconſiſtency of the principles of an authority, which, under pretence of being founded by divine will on the right of the ſword, lays claim to every thing by the one, and commands every thing by the other; which makes uſe of force to eſtabliſh religion, and of religion to influence the deciſions of juſtice: this is oppreſſion. But it can never exiſt, where every action is the reſult of voluntary ſubmiſſion, and proceeds from inclination founded on conviction, and where nothing is done but from choice and full approbation. This is that gentle ſway of opinion, the only one, perhaps, that it is lawful for one man to exerciſe over another, becauſe it makes thoſe people happy who ſubmit to it. Such, undoubtedly, was that of the Jeſuits in Paraguay, ſince whole nations came voluntarily to incorporate themſelves into their government, and none have ever thrown off the yoke. It cannot be pretended that fifty miſſionaries could have been able to compel a hundred thouſand Indians to be their ſlaves, who had it in their power either to maſſacre their prieſts, or to take refuge in the deſerts. This ſtrange paradox would be equally rejected by men of a ſanguine or of a credulous diſpoſition.

Some perſons have ſuſpected that the Jeſuits had propagated that love of celibacy among their people, which was ſo prevalent in Europe in the dark ages of ignorance, and is not yet entirely eradicated, notwithſtanding it hath conſtantly been urged how contrary it is to nature, reaſon, and ſociety. But this opinion is entirely without foundation. The miſſionaries have never even given any idea to their converts of a ſuperſtition which was totally improper and inconſiſtent with the climate; and would have been ſufficient to prejudice them againſt their beſt inſtitutions, or to defeat the deſign of them.

Politicians have further endeavoured to account for the want of population among the Guaranis, from their having no property. The idea under which we conſider property, namely, as a ſource of the increaſe both of men and ſubſiſtence, is an unqueſtionable truth; but ſuch is the fate of the beſt inſtitutions, that our errors will often threaten their deſtruction. Under the law of property, when it is attended with avarice, ambition, luxury, a multitude of imaginary wants, and various other irregularities ariſing from the imperfections of our governments, and from the bounds of our poſſeſſions, either too confined, or too extended, prevent, at the ſame time, both the fertility of our lands and the increaſe of our ſpecies. Theſe inconveniencies exiſted not in Paraguay. All were ſure of ſubſiſtence; conſequently all enjoyed the great advantages of property, though deprived, in a ſtrict ſenſe, of the right to it. This privation cannot juſtly be conſidered as the reaſon that hath impeded the progreſs of population among them.

A mercenary writer, or one who is blinded by his hatred, hath ventured to publiſh, lately, in the face of the whole univerſe, that the territory occupied by the Guaranis could not ſubſiſt more than the number of men who exiſted upon it, and that their miſſionaries, rather than ſuffer them to extend themſelves ſo as to have an intercourſe with the Spaniards, had themſelves ſtopped the progreſs of population, by perſuading, as it is ſaid, their converts to let their children periſh, becauſe they would be ſo many beings predeſtined to ſalvation, and ſo many protectors to them, Man or devil! whichever thou art, haſt thou reflected upon the atrociouſneſs and the extravagance of thy accuſation? Haſt thou any idea of the inſult thou haſt offered to thy rulers, and to thy fellow-citizens, in ſuppoſing that thou ſhouldſt obtain their favour or their eſteem by ſuch aſperſions? How much muſt thy nation have degenerated from the dignity and generoſity of its character, if it did not partake of my indignation upon this occaſion!

To the chimerical notions we have been refuting, let us endeavour to ſubſtitute the real, or the probable cauſes of this deficiency of population.

Firſt, the Portugueſe of St. Paul, in 1631, deſtroyed twelve or thirteen communities in the province of Guayra, bordering upon Brazil. Theſe ruffians, whoſe number did not amount to more than two hundred and ſeventy-five, could not indeed bring away more than nine hundred of the twenty-two thouſand Guaranis that compoſed this riſing colony: but ſeveral of them were deſtroyed by miſery and by the ſword. Several of them returned to their ſavage life. Scarce twelve thouſand of them eſcaped upon the borders of the Parana and of the Urugua, where it had been reſolved to fix them.

The paſſion which the devaſtators had for making ſlaves was not ſtifled by this emigration. They purſued their timid victims into their new aſylum; and, in proceſs of time, would have diſperſed, enſlaved, or aſſaſſinated all of them, unleſs the Indians could be ſupplied with arms ſimilar to thoſe of their aggreſſors.

It was a nice matter to make this propoſal: for it was a maxim with Spain not to introduce the uſe of fire-arms among the ancient inhabitants of the other hemiſphere, in the apprehenſion that they might one day uſe them themſelves to recover their primitive rights. The Jeſuits approved of this precaution, as being neceſſary with nations whoſe ſubjection was compelled: but they judged it to be uſeleſs with people, who were freely attached to the kings of Spain by ſuch eaſy bands, that they could be under no temptation of breaking them. The arguments or the ſolicitations of the miſſionaries prevailed over oppoſition and prejudice. In 1639 fire-locks were given to the Guaranis, and this favour delivered them for ever from the greateſt of dangers they could incur.

This cauſe of deſtrúction was ſucceeded by others of a more obſcure nature. The cuſtom had prevailed, to ſend annually, to the diſtance of two or three hundred leagues from their frontiers, ſome of the inhabitants of the villages to collect the herb of Paraguay, for which they were known to have an unſurmountable deſire. In theſe long and fatiguing journeys, ſeveral of them periſhed with hunger and fatigue. Sometimes, during their abſence, their plantations, deprived of moſt of their defenders, were laid waſte by wandering ſavages. Theſe defects were ſcarce corrected before the miſſions were afflicted with a new calamity.

An unfortunate concurrence of circumſtances brought among them the ſmall-pox; the baneful influence of which was more deſtructive in this diſtrict than in the reſt of the New World. This contagion did not diminiſh, and continued uninterruptedly to heap one victim upon another. Were the Jeſuits ignorant of the ſalutary effects of inoculation upon the borders of the Amazon, or did they, from motives of ſuperſtition, decline to adopt a practice, the advantages of which are ſo well aſcertained?

But it was the climate which more particularly ſtopped the progreſs of population among the Guaranis. The country they occupied, chiefly on the Parana, was hot, damp, and inceſſantly covered with thick and immoveable fogs. Theſe vapours gave riſe, in every ſeaſon, to contagious diſorders; and theſe calamities were aggravated by the propenſities of the inhabitants. Inheriting the voracious appetites which their fathers had brought with them from the midſt of the foreſt, they fed upon green fruit, and ate meat that was almoſt raw, while neither reaſon, nor authority, nor experience, could root out theſe inveterate habits. The maſs of blood being thus corrupted by the air and by the food, it was impoſſible that a numerous and long-lived offspring ſhould be produced.

Examination of the reproaches made to the Jeſuits concerning their miſſions.

In order to enſure the felicity of the Guaranis, whatever their number were, or might be, their inſtitutors had originally ſettled with the court of Madrid, that theſe people ſhould never be employed in the labours of the mines, nor ſubjected to any vaſſalage. They ſoon found that this firſt ſtipulation was not ſufficient to procure tranquillity to the new republics, and occaſioned it to be decreed, that the Spaniards ſhould be excluded from them, under whatever denomination they preſented themſelves. They foreſaw, that if they were admitted as traders, or even as travellers, they would excite commotions in thoſe peaceable retreats, and would introduce vice and every ſpecies of corruption. Theſe rapacious and deſtructive conquerors were the more offended at theſe meaſures, as they were approved by prudent men. Their reſentment broke out in imputations, for which there was an apparent, and, perhaps, a real foundation.

The miſſionaries traded for the nation. They ſent to Buenos-Ayres wax, tobacco, hides, cotton both raw and ſpun, and received in exchange, vaſes and ornaments for the temples; iron, arms, toys, ſome European commodities that were not manufactured in the colony; and metals deſigned for the payment of the tribute due from the male Indians from twenty to fifty years of age. As far as it is poſſible to judge, and penetrate into the myſtery which hath always ſurrounded theſe objects, the wants of the ſtate did not abſorb the entire profit of the ſales. The reſt was ſecreted for the benefit of the Jeſuits. Accordingly, they were traduced in all parts of the world as a ſociety of merchants, who, under the veil of religion, attended only to their own ſordid intereſt.

This cenſure could not fall upon the firſt founders of Paraguay. The deſerts through which they travelled afforded neither gold nor mercantile commodities. In theſe they only met with foreſts, ſerpents, and moraſſes; ſometimes they periſhed, or were expoſed to the moſt ſevere torments, and always to exceſſive fatigue. The hardſhips they endured with much patience, and the pains they took to induce the ſavages to quit their roving life, are not to be conceived. They never entertained the idea of appropriating to themſelves the produce of a land, which their care only prevented from being a haunt of wild beaſts. Their ſucceſſors may probably have been actuated by leſs noble and diſintereſted views; probably they might ſeek an increaſe of fortune and power, where they ought to have only ſought the glory of Chriſtianity and the good of mankind. It was certainly a great crime to rob the people of America, in order to acquire conſequence in Europe, and to increaſe over the whole world an influence already too dangerous. If any thing could diminiſh our abhorrence of ſo great a crime, it is, that the happineſs of the Indians was never affected by it. They never appeared to deſire any thing beyond thoſe conveniences which they generally enjoyed.

Thoſe who have not accuſed the Jeſuits of avarice have cenſured their inſtitutions in Paraguay, as being the effect of blind ſuperſtition. If our idea of ſuperſtition be the true one, it retards the progreſs of population; it devotes to uſeleſs ceremonies the time that ſhould be employed in the labours of ſociety; it deprives the laborious man of his property, to enrich the indolent and dangerous recluſe; it promotes diſcord and civil wars for things of little moment; it gives the ſignal for revolt in the name of God; it frees its miniſters from obedience to the laws, and from the duties of ſociety: in a word, it makes the people miſerable, and arms the wicked againſt the virtuous. Have any of theſe calamities been found among the Guaranis? If their happy inſtitutions be the effect of ſuperſtition, this is the only inſtance in which it ever was beneficial to mankind.

Politicians, who are ever reſtleſs and ſuſpicious, ſeemed to be apprehenſive that the republics formed by the

Jeſuits might one day detach themſelves from the power under the protection of which they had been raiſed. The inhabitants appeared to them as the beſt diſciplined ſoldiers of the New Hemiſphere. They conſidered them as obedient from a principle of religion, added to the energy of their new manners, and as fighting with the ſame zeal that brought ſo many martyrs to the ſcaffold, and overthrew ſo many empires by the arms of the followers of Wodin and Mohammed. But it was their form of government which particularly excited their alarms.

In ancient forms of government, civil and religious authority, which are derived from the ſame ſource, and tend to the ſame end, have always been united; or the one hath been ſo ſubſervient to the other, that the people could not venture to ſeparate them in idea, and were equally kept in awe by both. Chriſtianity introduced another kind of ſpirit in Europe, and formed, at its firſt origin, a ſecret rivalſhip between theſe two powers, the one of arms, the other of opinion. This diſpoſition manifeſted itſelf particularly when the barbarous nations of the north made incurſions upon the Roman empire. The Chriſtians, perſecuted by the heathen emperors, haſtened to implore the aſſiſtance of theſe foreigners againſt oppreſſion. They preached to theſe conquerors a new ſyſtem of religion, which enjoined to them as a duty to extirpate the eſtabliſhed one; and they demanded the ruins of the temples, in order to erect their own ſanctuaries upon theſe magnificent ſpoils.

The ſavages freely diſpoſed of what was not their property; they ſacrificed to Chriſtianity all its enemies and their own; they ſeized upon the perſons of men and upon their lands; and diſtributed ſome of them to the church. They demanded tribute; but exempted the clergy from it, becauſe they countenanced their uſurpations. Noblemen became prieſts, and prieſts obtained the rank of nobility. The great connected the privileges of their birth with that of the prieſthood which they embraced. The biſhops imprinted the ſeal of religion on the domains they poſſeſſed. From this mixture and confuſion of birth with high ſtations, of titles with eſtates, and of perſons with things, ſprang up a monſtrous power, which, from the firſt, endeavoured to eſtabliſh itſelf as diſtinct from the only true authority, which is that of government; a power, which afterwards attempted even to raiſe itſelf above government; but having been unſucceſsful in the attempt, hath ſince ſubmitted to ſeparate itſelf from it, and to exert its authority in ſecret over thoſe who were willing to acknowledge it. Theſe two powers have been always ſo much at variance, that they have conſtantly diſturbed the harmony of all ſtates.

The Jeſuits of Paraguay, who were well acquainted with this ſource of diviſion, have been warned by the miſchief their ſociety hath often done in Europe, and have exerted themſelves to promote the real happineſs of America. They have united both powers in one; which gave them the entire diſpoſal of the thoughts, affections, and faculties of their converts.

Whether the people were happy in theſe miſſions, and whether they have regretted their legiſlators?

Did ſuch a ſyſtem of government render the legiſlators formidable? Some perſons thought ſo in the New World; and this opinion was much more prevalent in the Old one: but in all parts, the neceſſary information was wanting to decide the point. The readineſs, perhaps unexpected, with which the miſſionaries have evacuated what was called their empire, hath ſeemed to ſhow that they were incapable of maintaining themſelves in it. They have even been leſs regretted there than it was thought they would be. It is not that theſe people had any cauſe to complain of the negligence or ſeverity of their leaders. An indifference ſo extraordinary, proceeded undoubtedly from the weariſomeneſs which theſe Americans, apparently ſo happy, muſt have experienced, during the courſe of a life too uniform not to be languid, and under a government which, when conſidered in its true point of view, reſembled rather a religious community than a political inſtitution.

How was it poſſible that a whole nation ſhould live without reluctance under the reſtraint of an auſtere law, which is not capable of ſubjecting a ſmall number of men, although they may have put themſelves under its controul from a ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, and from the moſt ſublime motives, without inſpiring them with melancholy, and without ſouring their tempers? The Guaranis were a ſpecies of monks; and there is not, perhaps, a ſingle monk, who at ſome time or other hath not deteſted his habit. Their duties were tyrannically enforced, no fault eſcaped puniſhment, and order eſtabliſhed its controul in the midſt of pleaſures. The Guaranis, whoſe conduct was cloſely inſpected even in their amuſements, could not give themſelves up to any kind of exceſs. Noiſy mirth and freedom were baniſhed from theſe melancholy feſtivals. Theſe manners were too auſtere. The ſtate of equality to which theſe people were reduced, and from which it was impoſſible they ſhould raiſe themſelves, expelled every kind of emulation from among them. One Guaranis had no ſort of motive to induce him to excel another. He had acted ſufficiently well, when there was no cauſe of complaint againſt him, and when he could not be puniſhed for having done ill. Did not alſo the privation of all property exert ſome influence over the moſt tender connections? It is not enough for the happineſs of man that he ſhould have what is ſufficient for him; he muſt alſo have ſomething to beſtow. A Guaranis could not be a benefactor to his wife, his children, his relations, his friends, or his countrymen; neither could any of theſe do good for him. He felt no kind of appetency. If he was without vice, he was alſo without virtue; he neither loved nor was beloved. A Guaranis with paſſions would have been the moſt wretched of beings; and a man without them exiſts not, either in the midſt of foreſts, in ſociety, or in a cell. There is no paſſion but that of love, which, being irritated and increaſed by reſtraint, could poſſibly find its advantage in them. But can it be ſuppoſed that the Guaranis retained nothing of the ſenſe of their ſavage ſtate of liberty? Let the reader take no account of what hath been written, and reflect only upon the few lines I now ſhall add. The Guaranis had never any thing but very confuſed ideas of what they owed to the care of their legiſlators, while they, in the moſt lively manner, were continually ſenſible of their deſpotiſm. At the time that they were expelled, theſe people readily perſuaded themſelves that they ſhould be free, and that their happineſs would not be diminiſhed by it. All kind of authority is more or leſs odious; and this is the reaſon why all maſters, without exception, are paid with ingratitude from their ſervants.

Preliminary ſteps taken by the court of Spain for the government of theſe miſſions.

When the miſſions of Paraguay were taken out of the hands of the Jeſuits in 1768, they were arrived, perhaps, to the higheſt degree of civilization to which it is poſſible to bring recent nations, and which was certainly very ſuperior to every thing that exiſted in the reſt of the New Hemiſphere. The laws were obſerved; an exact police was eſtabliſhed; the manners were pure; and all the inhabitants were united by brotherly love. All the arts of neceſſity were improved, and ſome of thoſe of luxury were known. Plenty was univerſal, and the public ſtores were filled. The number of horned cattle amounted to ſeven hundred and ſixty-nine thouſand three hundred and fifty-three, that of mules and horſes to ninety-four thouſand, nine hundred and eighty-three, and that of ſheep to two hundred and twenty-one thouſand five hundred and thirty-ſeven, without reckoning other domeſtic animals.

Authority, which had been hitherto concentrated in the ſame hands, was divided. A chief, to whom three lieutenants were given, was charged with the government of the country. Every thing that concerned religion was committed to the care of the monks of the orders of Saint Dominic, Saint Francis, and La Merci.

This is the only change that hath been hitherto made in the former arrangements. The court of Madrid certainly wiſhed to examine whether the order that was eſtabliſhed was to be maintained or altered? Attempts have been made to perſuade them to withdraw the Guaranis from a diſtrict rather unwholeſome, and not ſufficiently fertile, in order to people with them the uninhabited borders of the Rio Plata, from Buenos-Ayres to Aſſumption. If this plan be adopted, and that the people ſhould refuſe to quit the land of their forefathers, they will be reduced to the neceſſity of diſperſing themſelves; if they ſhould accede to the views of Spain, they will no longer form a national body. Whatever may happen, the moſt beautiful edifice that has been raiſed in the New World will be overthrown.

But this is enough, and perhaps too much, upon the circumſtances and revolutions, more or leſs important, which have agitated Spaniſh America during the courſe of three centuries. It is time to aſcend to the principles which directed the foundation of this great empire, and to trace, without malignity as without flattery, the conſequences of a ſyſtem of which antiquity hath not left, and could not poſſibly leave, any model. We ſhall begin, by giving an account of the ſeveral ſpecies of men which are at preſent collected in this immenſe region.

People who inhabit Spaniſh America; and firſt of the Chapetons.

We ſhall not reckon among the inhabitants of the New Hemiſphere either the commanders who are commiſſioned to give them laws, or the troops deſtined to protect and contain them, or the merchants employed in ſupplying their wants. Theſe ſeveral orders of men do not ſettle in America, but return all of them to Europe after a ſhorter or a longer ſtay. Among the perſons ſent by public authority, there are ſcarce any, except a few magiſtrates, and a few ſubaltern directors, who fix themſelves in theſe diſtant regions. The law prohibits every citizen from going there without the conſent of government; but men who are known eaſily obtain this permiſſion, and obſcure perſons frequently go there clandeſtinely. Individuals are powerfully ſtimulated to this emigration, by the hope of making a large fortune, and ſometimes alſo by the certainty of acquiring a degree of conſideration which they would not have enjoyed in the place of their origin. It is ſufficient to be born in Spain, to obtain diſtinguiſhed marks of reſpect; but this advantage is not tranſmitted. The children that are brought forth in this other world are not honoured with the name of *Chapetons*, as their fathers were; they are ſimply called *Creoles*.

The Creoles.

This is the name given to thoſe who are of Spaniſh iſſue in the New Hemiſphere. Many of them deſcend from the firſt conquerors, or their immediate ſucceſſors; and others have had illuſtrious anceſtors. Moſt of them have purchaſed or obtained diſtinguiſhed titles; but few of them have directed the great ſprings of government. Whether the court thought them incapable of application, or whether they were apprehenſive they ſhould prefer the intereſt of their own to that of the mother-country, they excluded them early from places of truſt, and ſeldom deviated from this ſyſtem, whether it were a proper or an improper one. This contempt, or this miſtruſt, diſcouraged them, and they loſt, in the vices ariſing from idleneſs, from the heat of the climate, and from the abundance of all things, the remainder of that elevation of mind, of which ſuch great examples had been left them. A barbarous luxury, pleaſures of a ſhameful kind, a ſtupid ſuperſtition, and romantic intrigues, completed the degradation of their character. One road ſtill remained open to the ambition of theſe coloniſts, who are in ſome meaſure proſcribed upon their native land. The court, the army, the courts of juſtice, and the church, are purſuits of greater or leſs eſtimation in Spain, which they are at liberty to follow. A very ſmall number, however, have entered into them, either becauſe their minds are entirely corrupted, or becauſe the diſtance renders the acceſs to them difficult. Some of leſs diſtinguiſhed birth have turned, even in America, their activity and their faculties to the great operations of trade; and theſe have been the moſt prudent and the moſt uſeful.

The Meſtees.

The ſame ſuperiority which the Chapetons affected over the Creoles, the latter aſſumed over the Meſtees. Theſe are the race proceeding from a European with an Indian woman. The Spaniards, who, at the firſt period of the diſcovery, landed in the New World, had no women with them. Some of the moſt conſiderable of them waited till women were ſent from Europe. Moſt of them plighted their faith to the moſt diſtinguiſhed or the moſt agreeable girls of the country. Frequently even they became mothers without being married. The law ordained, that theſe children, legitimate or illegitimate, ſhould enjoy the ſame privileges as their fathers; but prejudice placed them in a lower rank. It is ſcarcely till after three generations, that is to ſay, when their complexion differs in nothing from that of the white men, who are all very dark, that, in the ordinary courſe of civil life, they are treated as the other Creoles are. Before they can attain to ſo flattering an equality, theſe Meſtees, who are every where very numerous, and whoſe ſpecies is uninterruptedly renewed, were moſtly employed in the mechanic arts, and in the minuter details of trade. When they have acquired a greater ſhare of dignity, they are ſtill obliged to continue the ſame labours, till ſome fortunate alliance, or ſome particular circumſtance, enables them to paſs their uſeleſs days in pleaſure and idleneſs.

The Negroes.

Scarce had the New World been diſcovered, when Negroes were brought into it, in 1503. Eight years afterwards, a greater number of them was introduced, becauſe experience had ſhown that they were infinitely better calculated for all the labours than the natives of the country. The government ſoon prohibited them, from an apprehenſion that they would corrupt the Americans, and incite them to revolt. Las Caſas, who was deficient in proper notions concerning the rights of mankind, but who was inceſſantly employed in the relief of the Indians, to whom he was attached, obtained the revocation of a law, which he thought would be injurious to them. Charles V. permitted, in 1517, that four thouſand of theſe ſlaves ſhould be conveyed into the Spaniſh colonies; and the Flemiſh courtier, who had obtained the profit of this traffic, ſold his privilege to the Genoeſe.

At the expiration of this grant, this vile commerce ceaſed almoſt entirely; but the Portugueſe, having become ſubjects of the court of Madrid, revived it. It fell again, after theſe people had ſhaken off the yoke which they bore with ſo much impatience, and did not recover any activity, till the two nations came to be upon better terms with each other. At length, the ſubjects of the court of Liſbon engaged, in 1696, to furniſh, in five years time, twenty-five thouſand Negroes to their former tyrants; and they fulfilled this engagement with the aſſiſtance of their ſovereign, who advanced two-thirds of the funds required for an undertaking which was then ſo conſiderable.

The French, who had juſt been giving a king to Spain, too lightly took upon themſelves, in 1702, the engagements of the Portugueſe. Being deficient in ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, little ſkilled in maritime operations, and having been unfortunate in the courſe of a long war, they did nothing of what they had ſo boldly promiſed.

This contract paſſed into the hands of the Engliſh at the peace of Utrecht. The South Sea Company, to whom the Britiſh miniſtry gave it up, engaged to deliver, each of the thirty years that their charter was to laſt, four thouſand eight hundred Africans to the Spaniſh ſettlements. They were confined to this number during the five laſt years of their grant; but all the reſt of the time they were allowed to introduce as many as they could ſell. They engaged to pay thirty-three piaſtres and one-third, or one hundred and eighty livres [7l. 10s.], for each of the firſt four thouſand Negroes; the other eight hundred were freed from this burdenſome tribute, in indemnity for 1,080,000 livres [45,000l.] advanced to the court of Madrid, and which were only to be reimburſed in the courſe of ten years. This tribute was reduced to half for all the ſlaves that were not required by the contract. Philip V. indemnified himſelf for this ſacrifice, by reſerving the fourth part of the profits made by the Company. The execution of this treaty was only interrupted by the hoſtilities which, in 1739, divided the two kingdoms. The peace of 1748 reſtored to the crown of England all its rights; but the Company which repreſented it were induced, by an indemnity that was offered to them, to give up the ſhort remains of a grant, which they foreſaw they ſhould not be allowed to enjoy without conſiderable reſtrictions.

Robert Mayne, a merchant of London, ſucceeded, under a Spaniſh name, to the Aſſociation. Such was the diſhoneſty or the negligence of the agents whom he had ſettled at Buenos-Ayres, which was become the ſtaple of the trade, that in 1752 he was ruined, and obliged to give up an undertaking, which, if more prudently managed, or more carefully attended to, ought to have yielded very conſiderable profits.

The reſolution was then taken to receive ſlaves at Porto Rico, which were to pay to government two hundred and ſixteen livres [9l.] each, and which, after having defrayed this heavy tax, were freely admitted upon the continent and in the iſlands. The Engliſh, who had treated with the governor of Cuba, fulfilled their engagements punctually, when the court of Madrid thought a change of ſyſtem would be better calculated for their intereſt.

In 1765, an aſſociation was formed between ſome Spaniſh, French, and Genoeſe commercial houſes, ſettled at Cadiz. This Company, which was ill ſerved by its agents, and much loaded with debt, was going to be diſſolved, when, in 1773, the miniſtry thought it prudent and equitable to offer ſome alleviation of the terms they had at firſt impoſed upon it. The charter was prolonged, and the taxes diminiſhed; and, from that period, the importation of ſlaves hath acquired freſh activity. They are bought indiſcriminately in all places where they can be procured to the beſt advantage.

Savage Europeans! ye doubted at firſt whether the inhabitants of the regions you had juſt diſcovered were not animals which you might ſlay without remorſe, becauſe they were black, and you were white. You almoſt envied them the knowledge of God, your common Father. Moſt horrid thought! But when you had permitted them alſo to raiſe their hands and eyes to heaven; when you had initiated them in your ceremonies and myſteries; made them join in your prayers and offerings, and in the hopes of a future ſtate, afforded by one common religion; when you had acknowledged them to be your brethren; was not the general horror redoubled, at ſeeing you trample under foot the ties of this ſacred conſanguinity? You have put them more upon an equality with yourſelves; and yet you go to diſtant parts in order to buy and ſell them! You ſell them, too, as you would a baſe herd of cattle! In order to repeople one part of the globe, which you have laid waſte, you corrupt and depopulate another. If death be preferable to ſlavery, are ye not ſtill more inhuman upon the coaſts of Africa than you have been in the regions of America? Engliſh, French, Spaniards, Dutch, or Portugueſe, let me ſuppoſe that I am converſing with one of you about a treaty concluded between two civilized nations; and that I ſhould aſk him, what kind of compenſation he imagines may have been agreed upon in the exchange you have made? He will think it to conſiſt in gold, proviſions, privileges, a town, or a province; while, on the contrary, it conſiſts in a greater or leſs number of your fellow-creatures, which the one gives up to the other, to diſpoſe of at pleaſure. But ſuch is the infamy of this unnatural contract, that it doth not even preſent itſelf to the ideas of the contracting parties.

Every thing announces that the court of Spain will ſhake off the dependence they had upon foreign nations for their ſlaves. This is the only view they can poſſibly have had, in requiring of Portugal, in-

1771, the ceſſion of two of their iſlands on the African coaſt.

Laborious cultivations, and ſome mines of a particular kind, have employed part of the ſlaves introduced upon the Spaniſh continent in the New World. The ſervice of the rich hath been the deſtiny of the greater number. Theſe have ſoon become the confidents of their maſters pleaſures; and by this infamous employment they have gained their liberty. Their deſcendants have allied themſelves ſometimes with the Europeans, and ſometimes with the Mexicans, and have formed the vigorous and numerous race of the Mulattoes, which, as that of the Meſtees, but two or three generations later, acquires the colour and the rank of white people. Thoſe among them who are ſtill in ſlavery have aſſumed a determined ſuperiority over the wretched and poor. This ſuperiority they owe to the favour granted to them by government. For this reaſon, the Africans, who, in the ſettlements of other nations, are the enemies of the white people, are become their defenders in the Spaniſh Indies.

But why ſhould the favour of government be beſtowed upon the ſlave that was bought, in preference to the ſlave that was conquered? It is, becauſe the injury done to the latter was of more ancient date, and greater than the injury done to the former; that the latter was accuſtomed to the yoke, and that the former was to be broken to it; and that the ſlave of a maſter, whom a ſyſtem of policy hath made maſter of a ſlave, is brought, by this diſtinction, to take part with the common tyrant. If the African, who is the defender of the white people in the Spaniſh Indies, hath been their enemy in all other parts, it is becauſe in all other parts he hath always obeyed, and never commanded; it is, becauſe he was not comforted in his ſituation by the ſight of one more wretched than his own. In the Spaniſh Indies, the African is alternately ſlave and maſter; in the ſettlements of other nations, he is perpetually a ſlave.

Ancient and preſent ſtate of the Indies.

The Indians form the laſt claſs of inhabitants, in a country which belonged entirely to their anceſtors. The misfortunes of theſe people began even at the era of the diſcovery. Columbus diſtributed lands at firſt to thoſe who accompanied him, and attached ſome natives of the country to them in 1499. This arrangement was not approved of by the court, who, three years after, ſent Ovando to St. Domingo, to reſtore theſe wretched people to liberty. This new commander, barbarous as he was, complied with the will of his ſovereigns: but the indolence of the Americans, and the complaints of the Spaniards, ſoon determined him to put thoſe whom he had ſet free again into chains, and to add ſtill a greater number to them. But he decreed, that theſe ſlaves ſhould reap ſome advantage from their labour, whether they were employed in the culture of the lands, or the working of the mines. In 1504, this arrangement was confirmed by Ferdinand and Iſabella, with a proviſo, that the ſtipend ſhould be regulated by government.

The Dominicans, who had juſt arrived in the colony, were incenſed at an arrangement which overthrew all former principles. They refuſed, in the confeſſional chair, abſolution to thoſe individuals who ſolicited, or even accepted, thoſe gifts, which were indiſcriminately ſtyled repartitions, or commanderies. They thundered out excommunications from the pulpit againſt the authors or promoters of theſe injuſtices. The exclamations of theſe monks, ſo much revered at that time, reſounded throughout all Europe, where the cuſtom, which they attacked with ſo much inveteracy, was again diſcuſſed in 1510, and was again confirmed.

In 1516, the Indians found in Las Caſas a more zealous, more intrepid, and more active protector, than thoſe who had preceded him. His ſolicitations determined Ximenes, who at that time governed Spain with ſo much ſplendour, to ſend over to America three friars to determine upon this matter, which had already been twice decided. The decrees they pronounced were not ſuch as were expected from their profeſſion. They decided in favour of the commanderies, but excluded from them all the courtiers and favourites who did not reſide in the New World.

Las Caſas, who had been declared the protector of the Indians by the miniſter himſelf, and who, inveſted with this honourable title, had accompanied the delegates, returned immediately into Spain, in order to devote to public indignation men of a pious profeſſion, whom he accuſed of having ſacrificed humanity to political views. He ſucceeded in having them recalled, and Figueroa was ſubſtituted to them. This magiſtrate took the reſolution to collect, in two large villages, a conſiderable body of Indians, whom he left entirely at their own diſpoſal. The experiment did not turn out in their favour. The government concluded, from their ſtupidity and their indolence, that the Americans were children incapable of conducting themſelves; and their condition was not altered.

Nevertheleſs, the clamours of many reſpectable perſons were raiſed on all ſides againſt theſe arrangements; and the ſtates of Caſtile themſelves demanded, in 1523, that they ſhould be annulled. Charles V. yielded to all theſe ſolicitations. He forbad Cortez, who had juſt conquered Mexico, to give any commanderies, and enjoined him to revoke thoſe he might already have granted. When theſe orders arrived in New Spain, the repartitions were already ſettled as in the other colonies, and the monarch's pleaſure was not complied with.

From this, and all other countries ſubject to Caſtile, intelligence was conſtantly received, that no real or uſeful labours would be carried on in the New World, if the people who were ſubdued ſhould for a moment ceaſe to be at the diſpoſal of their conquerors. The apprehenſion of having made the diſcovery of ſo rich a hemiſphere without advantage, made a great impreſſion upon the miniſtry: but, on the other hand, the idea of having invaded one half of the globe, merely to reduce the nations to ſlavery, was another point of view which could not fail of exciting ſome alarms in the government. In this uncertainty, commanderies were allowed or prohibited at hazard. At length, in 1536, the government adopted the medium of giving a ſanction to them for two generations. Although they had been granted only for two years before this period, they were in reality perpetual, ſince there was not a ſingle inſtance of the grant's not being renewed. The king continued to reſerve to himſelf all the Indians ſettled in the ports or in the principal towns.

The protector of theſe wretched people grew indignant at theſe ordinances. He ſpoke, he exerted himſelf, he ſummoned his nation to the tribunal of the whole univerſe, and made the two hemiſpheres ſhudder with horror. O! Las Caſas! thou waſt greater by thy humanity, than all thy countrymen were by their conqueſts. Should it happen in future ages, that theſe unfortunate regions which they have invaded ſhould be peopled again, and that a ſyſtem of laws, manners, and liberty, ſhould be eſtabliſhed among them, the firſt ſtatue they would erect would be thine. We ſhould ſee thee interpoſing between the American and the Spaniard, and preſenting thy breaſt to the poniard of the one, in order to ſave the other. We ſhould read, at the bottom of this monument, IN AN AGE OF BARBARITY, LAS CASAS, WHOM THOU SEEST, WAS A BENEVOLENT MAN. In the meanwhile thy name will remain engraved upon every feeling heart; and when thy countrymen ſhall bluſh at the barbariſm of their pretended heroes, they will take pride in thy virtues. May theſe fortunate times not be ſo far diſtant as we apprehend they are!

Charles V. enlightened by his own reflections, or prevailed upon by the impetuous eloquence of Las Caſas, ordered, in 1542, that all the commanderies which ſhould become vacant ſhould be indiſcriminately reunited to the crown. This decree was not in force in Mexico and Peru, and occaſioned a bloody and obſtinate war. The government were obliged to annul it three years after; but authority was eſtabliſhed with ſufficient ſolidity in 1549, to bid defiance to all complaints, and to be no longer impeded by the fear of inſurrections.

At this period, the Indians were freed from all perſonal ſervices, and the tribute they were to pay to their commanders was regulated. The maſters, hitherto ſo oppreſſive, were forbidden to reſide in the extent of their juriſdiction, and to ſleep there more than one night. They were alſo prohibited from having any dwelling there, from leaving their families, from poſſeſſing any lands, from breeding any cattle, and from eſtabliſhing any manufactures. They were forbidden to intermix in marriage with their vaſſals, and to take any of them into their ſervice. The perſon commiſſioned to collect their taxes muſt have the ſanction of the magiſtrate, and muſt give ſecurity againſt any vexations he ſhould be guilty of.

The tax impoſed upon the natives of the country, to make their conquerors ſubſiſt with a degree of dignity, is not even merely a gratuitous favour. Theſe proud maſters are obliged to collect their ſubjects in a village, to build them a church, and to pay the clergyman appointed to inſtruct them. They are obliged to fix their reſidence in the principal town of the province, in which their commandery is ſituated, and to have always horſes and arms in readineſs to repel an enemy, whether foreign or domeſtic. They are not permitted to abſent themſelves, till they have put a ſoldier, approved by government, in their place.

No material alterations were made in theſe regulations till 1568. It was then reſolved, that the commanderies, which, for thirty-two years paſt, had been granted for two lives, ſhould continue to be given in the ſame manner; but that thoſe, the revenue of which exceeded ten thouſand eight hundred livres [450l.], ſhould be ſubject to penſions. All of them were in future to be proclaimed when they became vacant, and ſuppoſing the merit of the competitors equal, to be diſtributed in preference to the heirs of the conquerors, and, after them, to the deſcendants of the firſt coloniſts. The court, perceiving that theſe rewards were more frequently diſtributed by favour than by talents, or the claim of an ancient origin, ordered, in 1608, that they ſhould be annulled, if the favours granted by the viceroys were not confirmed in ſix years for Peru, and in five for the reſt of America. The chief of the commandery, however, entered into the enjoyment of his poſt as ſoon as he was appointed. It was only required of him to ſecure the reſtitution of the ſums he might have received, if the choice that had been made of him were not ratified at the time preſcribed by the ordinances.

At the beginning of the laſt century, the government appropriated to themſelves the third part of the revenue of the commanderies. Soon after this, they took the whole of it into their hands, and forbade their delegates to fill up thoſe that ſhould become vacant. At length, they were all ſuppreſſed in 1720, except thoſe that were given in perpetuity to Cortez, and to ſome hoſpitals or religious communities. At this period, ſo remarkable in the annals of the New World, the Indians were dependent only on the crown.

Was this ſyſtem the beſt that could poſſibly be adopted for the intereſt of Spain, and the felicity of the other hemiſphere? Who will be able to ſolve a problem, in which ſo many circumſtances are complicated? The rights of juſtice; the ſentiments of humanity; the private views of miniſters; the ſway of the moment; the ambition of the great; the rapaciouſneſs of favourites; the projects of ſpeculative men; the authority of the prieſthood; the influence of the manners and of prejudice; the character of the diſtant ſubjects; the nature of the climate, of the ſoil, and of the labours; the diſtance of places; the tardineſs and contempt of the ſovereign's orders; the tyranny of governors; the impunity of crimes; the uncertainty of accounts and of accuſations; and ſuch a multitude of other different matters. We need not therefore be ſurpriſed at the long uncertainty of the court of Madrid; when, in the centre of European nations, at the foot of the throne, under the immediate inſpection of the directors of the ſtate, we ſee abuſes ſubſiſting, and often increaſing, on account of the abſurdity of meaſures. The man, with whom they were ſurrounded, was then taken for the model of the man at a diſtance; and it was imagined that the ſame ſyſtem of legiſlation which ſuited the one, was equally adapted to the other. In former times, and, perhaps, even at preſent, we confound with each other, two beings ſeparated by immenſe differences, the ſavage and the civilized man; the man born in the centre of liberty, and the man born in the ſhackles of ſlavery. The averſion of the ſavage for our cities, ariſeth from the improper manner in which we have introduced ourſelves into his foreſts.

At preſent, the Indians who have not been ſettled in the towns, are all collected in villages, which they are not permitted to quit, and where they form municipal aſſemblies, over which their cacique preſides. To each of theſe villages a territory of greater or leſs extent is attached, according to the nature of the ſoil, and the number of its inhabitants. Part of it is cultivated in common for the public neceſſities, and the reſt is diſtributed to the families for their private uſe. The law hath ordained that this domain ſhould be unalienable; ſome portions of it, however, are, from time to time, allowed to be detached from it, in favour of the Spaniards; but always with an annual charge upon it, for the profit of the ſellers, under the inſpection of government. There is no inſtitution which prevents the Indians from having lands belonging to them; but they have ſeldom the power or the inclination to make acquiſitions.

As diſgrace breaks down all the ſprings of the mind, one of the cauſes of this poverty and of this diſcouragement, muſt be the obligation impoſed upon theſe people, of being alone devoted to the public labours. The law ordains that they ſhould be paid for this humiliating labour; but the diſtance from whence they may be brought, and the time they may be detained, depends upon the government of the ſpot.

Another duty impoſed upon the Indians, is to be at the diſpoſal of all the citizens; but merely for the manufactures, and the cultures of primary neceſſity; and this in rotation only, for eighteen days conſecutively, and for a ſalary ſettled by the ordinances.

They have ſtill a more burdenſome taſk, and that is the working of the mines. The directors were originally the ſole regulators of this taſk. It was afterwards provided for by ſtatutes, which were frequently varied. At preſent, no Indians are called to the mines, except to thoſe of Guanca Velica, and of Potoſi, which have particular privileges, who live at the diſtance of more than thirty miles; they are allowed four reals, or fifty-four ſols [about 2s. 3d.] per day; they are detained no longer than ſix months, and the ſeventh part of a colony is only employed in them at Peru, and the twenty-fifth part at Mexico. Frequently even there are a leſs number, becauſe libertiniſm, cupidity, the expectation of thieving, and, perhaps, other motives, attract there a great number of Meſtees, Mulattoes, and natives.

A tribute which the male Indians, from eighteen to fifty years of age, pay to the government, completes this multitude of calamities. This tax, which was originally paid in proviſions, is not the ſame in all parts. It is from eight to fifteen, twenty, thirty, and forty livres, [from 6s. 8d. to 12s. 10d.—16s. 8d.—1l. 5s. and 1l. 13s. 4d.] according to the different periods when, at the requeſt of the perſons who paid it, it was converted into coin. The cuſtom which prevailed with the government, of requiring always in money the value of the productions, the price of which varies with time and place, introduced theſe diſproportions, which were greater, and conſequently more deſtructive in South, than they were in North America, where the capitation is uſually of nine reals, or ſix livres one ſol ſix deniers [rather more than five ſhillings]. The fourth part of this tax is diſtributed to the clergyman, to the cacique, and to the Spaniard, commiſſioned in each province to prevent the oppreſſion of the Indians, or kept for the purpoſe of aſſiſting the community in any of its misfortunes. Such is the legal condition of the Indians: but no one can determine how much private injuſtice adds weight to a burden already too heavy. That, among the vexations which hath moſt attracted the notice of government, hath proceeded from the officer, who is called an Alcade at Mexico, and a Corregidor at Peru.

This is a magiſtrate charged, under the inſpection of the viceroy, or of the tribunals, with the adminiſtration of juſtice; with the management of the finances, of war, of police, and of every thing that can concern public order, throughout the ſpace of thirty, forty, and fifty leagues. Although the law prohibited him, as well as the other depoſitaries of authority, from undertaking any trade; yet, from the earlieſt times, he monopolized all that was poſſible to be carried on with the Indians under his juriſdiction. As he only remained five years in office, he uſed to deliver, almoſt as ſoon as he got in, the merchandiſe he had to ſell, and employed the reſt of his time in collecting in the payments. The oppreſſion became general. The unfortunate natives of the country were always cruſhed by the enormity of the prices, and frequently by being obliged to take goods of no uſe to them, but which the tyrant himſelf had ſometimes been compelled to receive from the merchants, who afforded him a long and hazardous credit. Every thing, or almoſt every thing, was refuſed to the poor, and thoſe who enjoyed any kind of eaſe in their circumſtances were overburdened. When the payments became due, they were exacted with barbarous ſeverity, by a creditor who is at once both judge and party; and the moſt heavy penalties were inflicted upon the debtors, who failed either in the voluntary or compelled obligations they had entered into.

The humane and equitable chiefs were ſenſibly affected with theſe enormities, which were more atrocious and more frequent in South, than they were in North America. They thought it, however, neceſſary to tolerate them, from an idea generally entertained, that if the chain which was formed was once to be broken, theſe indolent and thoughtleſs people would be in want of clothing, of inſtruments of agriculture, of cattle neceſſary for all the labours, and that they would immediately fall into a ſtate of inaction and extreme miſery. Some prudent men endeavoured to reconcile intereſts that were ſo oppoſite to each other; but none of their ideas were found to be practicable. A ſure method of leſſening the miſchief, would have been, to put the magiſtrates, who went to ſeek, in another hemiſphere, a fortune which their native country refuſed them, upon a better footing: but the miniſtry would never conſent to this increaſe of expence. Since the year 1751, the Alcades and the Corregidors are obliged to fix upon the place of their reſidence, the goods they have to ſell, and the price they mean to put upon them. If they deviate from this rate, which is approved of by their ſuperiors, they are to loſe their places, and to reſtore the quadruple of what they have purloined. This regulation, which is rather ſtrictly attended to, hath in ſome degree diminiſhed the depredations.

Civil government eſtabliſhed by Spain in the New World.

A form of government was wanting for the ſeveral people we have been ſpeaking of; and the court of Madrid adopted that which was the moſt abſolute. The Spaniſh monarchs took all the rights and all the powers into their own hands, and entruſted the exerciſe of them to two delegates, who, under the title of viceroys, were to enjoy the prerogatives of ſovereignty during all the time of their commiſſion. They were attended in their public functions, and even in their private life, with a degree of pomp, which ſeemed calculated to increaſe the reſpect and terror which was inſpired by authority. The number of theſe diſtinguiſhed offices hath ſince been doubled, without the leaſt derogation from their dignity. Their conduct, however, as well as that of the inferior agents, was ſubject to the cenſure of the Council for India ; a tribunal erected in Europe, to govern, under the inſpection of the monarch, the conquered provinces in the New World.

In theſe diſtant countries were eſtabliſhed ten courts of juſtice, appointed to enſure the tranquillity of the citizens, and to ſettle any differences that might ariſe among them. Theſe tribunals, known by the name of Audiences, pronounced definitively upon criminal matters : but cauſes that were merely civil, and which were for more than 10,156 piaſtres, or 54,843 livres [2285l. 2s. 6d.], might be carried, by appeal, to the Council for India. The privilege granted to theſe great bodies to make remonſtrances to the depoſitaries of the royal authority, and the ſtill more conſiderable prerogative given to thoſe of the capitals to fill the duties of the vice-royalty, whenever they were vacant, raiſed them to a degree of importance, which, as magiſtrates, they would not have acquired.

Nature of the eccleſiaſtical government adopted in America.

It ſeemed more difficult to regulate the eccleſiaſtical form of government. At the period of the diſcovery of the New World, all Europe was covered with a veil of darkneſs, woven, or thickened, by the prejudices which the court of Rome had inceſſantly diffuſed, ſometimes openly, and ſometimes with cunning. Theſe ſuperſtitions were more deeply rooted, and more general in Spain, where the infidels had for ſo long a time paſt been the object of their hatred and of their wars. The ſovereigns of this kingdom, one would naturally imagine, would have eſtabliſhed beyond the ſeas the bad principles of the pontiffs who gave them another hemiſphere ; but this was not the caſe. Theſe princes, more enlightened, as it ſhould ſeem, than might be expected from the age they lived in, deprived the ruler of Chriſtendom of the privilege of collating to the benefices of the church, and even of the tithes, which the prieſts had aſſumed to themſelves in all parts. Unfortunately, the prudence that had dictated this ſyſtem, was not followed by their ſucceſſors, who founded, or permitted to be founded, too great a number of biſhopricks. Numberleſs churches were conſtructed, and convents of both ſexes multiplied beyond every idea of exceſs. Celibacy became the ruling paſſion in a deſert country. Metals, which ſhould have been employed in fertilizing the earth, were thrown away upon the churches. The clergy, notwithſtanding their ignorance and corruption, obtained the reſtoration of the greateſt part of thoſe oppreſſive tithes which had been drawn out of their avaricious hands. America ſeemed now to have been conquered but for them. In the meanwhile, the inferior clergy, thoſe who are in other parts ſo mild and ſo reſpectable, did not find themſelves ſufficiently opulent. The Indian, whom they were appointed to inſtruct and comfort, did not dare to appear before them without ſome preſent. They indulged him in ſuch of his former ſuperſtitions as were of advantage to themſelves; as, for inſtance, the cuſtom of putting a great quantity of proviſions upon the tombs of the dead. They ſet an exorbitant price upon their functions, and had always ſome pious inventions, which gave them an opportunity of exacting freſh taxes. Such a conduct had rendered their tenets generally odious. Theſe people went to maſs as they did to the labours of vaſſalage, execrating the barbarous ſtrangers, who loaded their bodies and their ſouls with burdens equally weighty.

The ſcandal became public, and almoſt general. The ſecular and the regular clergy, who both of them fulfilled the ſame miniſtry, mutually accuſed each other of theſe vexations. The firſt deſcribed their rivals as a ſet of vagabonds, who had withdrawn themſelves from the ſuperintendence of their ſuperiors, in order to follow their libertiniſm with impunity. The latter accuſed the other of their ignorance and indolence, and cenſured them for being wholly taken up with the education of their families. We acknowledge, with regret, that there was reaſon for theſe reproaches on both ſides. The court was for a long time diſturbed by the intrigues of theſe two cabals, which were inceſſantly renewed. At length they decreed, in 1757, that the monks ſhould occupy the benefices they held during life, but that they ſhould not be ſucceeded in them by men of the ſame profeſſion. This determination, which brings matters again into their natural order, will probably be attended with favourable conſequences.

Diſtribution of the lands in the New World at the time of the conqueſt. Mode of acquiring theſe poſſeſſions at preſent.

It was a great point, to have regulated, in the firſt inſtance, all the great ſprings of the new empire. It now remained to ſettle the deſtiny of thoſe who were to live in it. The ſovereign, who thought himſelf the legitimate poſſeſſor of all the lands of America, by right of conqueſt, and by the conceſſion of the pontiffs, cauſed ſome of them, at firſt, to be diſtributed among his ſoldiers, who had fought in the New World.

The foot ſoldier received a piece of ground of the length of one hundred feet, and of the breadth of fifty, to build upon; one thouſand eight hundred and eighty-five toiſes for garden-ground; ſeven thouſand five hundred and forty-three for his orchard; ninety-four thouſand two hundred and eighty-eight for the culture of European corn; and nine thouſand four hundred and twenty-eight for that of Indian corn; and all the extent of ground that was neceſſary to breed ten hogs, twenty goats, one hundred ſheep, twenty horned cattle, and five horſes. The cavalry man was allowed double the quantity of ground for his buildings, and the quintuple of all the reſt.

Soon after towns were conſtructed. Theſe were not left to the caprice of perſons who meant to inhabit them. The ordonnances required that they ſhould be in an agreeable ſituation, in a wholeſome air, on a fertile ſoil, abounding with waters. They regulated the poſition of the churches, the direction of the ſtreets, and the extent of the public ſquares. It was uſually ſome rich and active individual who undertook to build them, after they had obtained the ſanction of government. If the whole was not finiſhed at the ſtipulated time, he loſt all the money he had advanced, and was likewiſe indebted to the treaſury 5400 livres [225l.]. The other obligations impoſed upon him were, to find a clergyman for his church, and to ſupply him with all that was required to keep up the decency of a regular form of worſhip. He was alſo obliged to collect at leaſt thirty Spaniſh inhabitants, each of whom was to have ten cows, four oxen, one mare, one ſow, twenty ſheep, one cock, and ſix hens. When theſe conditions were fulfilled, the civil and criminal juriſdictions were granted to him in the firſt inſtance for two generations, the right of appointing the municipal officers, and four leagues ſquare of territory.

Part of this great ſpace was taken up in the placing of the city, by the commons, and by the perſon who undertook the buſineſs. The reſt was divided into equal portions, which were drawn for by lot, and none of which could be alienated till after five years cultivation. Every citizen was to have as many lots as he had houſes; but his property was never to exceed what Ferdinand had originally granted at Saint Domingo to three horſemen.

Thoſe perſons who had poſſeſſions in the towns that were already founded, were excluded by law from the new ſettlements: but this ſtrict regulation did not extend to their children. All the Indians who were not detained elſewhere by engagements which they could not break, were allowed to ſettle there as ſervants, as mechanics, or as labourers.

Excluſive of the lands which were ſecured to the troops, and to the founders of towns, the chiefs of the ſeveral colonies were authoriſed to diſtribute ſome to the Spaniards who were inclined to ſettle in the New Hemiſphere. This great privilege was taken from them in 1591. Philip II. whoſe ambition engaged him in perpetual wars, and whoſe obſtinacy would never allow him to put an end to them, was not able to anſwer ſo many expences. The ſale of the lands in America, which to this period had been given away, was one of the reſources that ſuggeſted itſelf to him. His law had, even in ſome ſort, a retroactive effect, in as much as it ordered the confiſcation of all that was poſſeſſed without a legitimate title, unleſs the uſurper ſhould conſent to redeem theſe poſſeſſions. An arrangement ſo uſeful in reality, or in appearance, to the treaſury, never received any modification at any period, nor hath it yet experienced any.

But it was a more eaſy matter to beſtow lands gratuitouſly upon ſome adventurers, or to cede them to ſuch perſons at a low price, than to induce them to make them fertile. This kind of labour was deſpiſed by the firſt Spaniards, whom their avidity had led into the Indies. The ſlow, laborious, and expenſive mode of cultivation, could ſcarce tempt men, who, in the hope of making an eaſy, brilliant, and rapid fortune, had braved the waves of an unknown ocean, and the dangers of all kinds that awaited them upon unwholeſome and barbarous coaſts. They were in haſte to enjoy; and the moſt expeditious way of doing this, was to ſeize upon the minerals. An enlightened government would have endeavoured to rectify the ideas of their ſubjects, and to give, as much as poſſible, another bent to their ambition. But the direct contrary of this took place; the error of individuals became the policy of the miniſtry; they were blind enough to prefer treaſures that are merely ſo by convention, the quantity of which could not fail of being diminiſhed, and which muſt daily loſe ſomething of their imaginary price, to riches that are inceſſantly ſpringing up afreſh, and the value of which muſt gradually increaſe in all times. This illuſion of the conquerors and of the ſovereigns threw the ſtate out of the road of proſperity, and formed the manners in America. Nothing was in eſtimation but gold or ſilver, accumulated by rapine, by oppreſſion, and by the working of the mines.

Regulations made at different periods for the working of the mines.

In the earlieſt times of the conqueſt, it was decreed, that the mines ſhould belong to the perſon who diſcovered them, provided he had them regiſtered in the tribunal neareſt to the ſpot. The government had at firſt the imprudence to have the portion of this rich ſoil, which they had reſerved for themſelves, ſearched on their own account; but they ſoon renounced this ruinous error, and contracted the habit of ceding it to the proprietor of the reſt of the mine for a very moderate ſum. If theſe treaſures were found in cultivated parts, which ſcarce ever happened, the perſon who undertook the mine was to purchaſe the extent of ground he wanted, or to give up the hundredth part of the ore. Upon barren mountains, the proprietor was more than ſufficiently indemnified for the little damage he received, by the value which a new exertion gave to the productions cultivated in the neighbourhood.

From the moſt ancient times, the mines, of whatſoever nature they were, gave up to the treaſury in Spain the fifth of their produce. This cuſtom was carried into the New World; but in proceſs of time the government was obliged to confine itſelf to a tenth for the gold, and even in 1735, for the ſilver in Peru. They were alſo obliged, in general, to lower the price of mercury. Till the year 1761, this neceſſary agent had been ſold for 432 livres [18l.] the quintal. At this period it coſt no more than 324 [13l. 10s.], or even 216 livres [9l.], for the mines that were not abundant, or which were very expenſive in the working.

Every thing leads us to ſuppoſe, that the court of Spain will be obliged, ſooner or later, to make other ſacrifices. In proportion as the metals grow more common in commerce, they decreaſe in value, and they repreſent fewer commodities. This degradation muſt one day make the beſt mines be negleected, as it hath ſucceſſively made the middling ones to have been abandoned, unleſs the burden of thoſe who work them be alleviated. The time, perhaps, is not far diſtant, when the Spaniſh miniſtry muſt be contented with two reals, or one livre ſeven ſols [about 1s. 1½d.], which they receive per mark for the ſtamp and for the coinage.

The circumſtance that might give great weight to theſe conjectures is, that there are ſcarce any men, except thoſe whoſe affairs are in a doubtful or ruinous ſituation, who venture the taking of a part in the mines. If it ſhould ſometimes happen, that a rich merchant ſhould be ſtimulated to it by an unbounded avidity, he doth it always under the veil of the moſt impenetrable ſecrecy. The bold ſpeculator may conſent to expoſe his fortune, but never his name. He is well aware, that, if his engagements were known, his reputation and his credit would be inevitably loſt. It is not till his raſhneſs hath been crowned with the moſt brilliant ſucceſs, that he can venture to avow the riſks he hath run.

Taxes eſtabliſhed in Spaniſh America.

When the government ſhall be obliged to give up the duties they yet receive from the metals, they will ſtill have conſiderable revenues for the expences of ſovereignty. The principal of theſe ought to have been the tithes, which Ferdinand had compelled the court of Rome to give up to him: but Charles V. from motives which it is not eaſy to conjecture, deprived himſelf of them in favour of the biſhops, the chapters, the rectors, the hoſpitals, the building of the churches; in a word, in favour of men and of eſtabliſhments, which were either too rich already, or ſoon became ſo. This prince ſcarce tranſmitted the ninth part of them to his ſucceſſors. It was neceſſary that a tribute extorted from the Indians ſhould fill up a void ſo inconſiderately made in the public treaſure. The ſuperior claſſes of ſociety were not treated with leſs management; all the New World was ſubject to the Alcavala.

This is a tax levied only upon what is ſold by wholeſale, and which doth not extend to articles of daily conſumption. It comes originally from the Moors. The Spaniards adopted it in 1341, and ſettled it at the rate of five *per cent.* It was afterwards carried up to ten, and even to fourteen; but, in 1750, arrangements were made, which brought it back to what it had been in the firſt inſtance. Philip II. after the diſaſter of that fleet, ſo well known by the pompous title of Invincible, was urged, in 1591, by his wants, to require this aſſiſtance from his poſſeſſions in America. It was at firſt only at two *per cent.*, and in 1627 it roſe to four.

Stampt paper, that mode ſo wiſely invented to ſecure the fortune of individuals, and which is become, in all parts, one of the principles of their ruin in the hands of the treaſury: ſtampt paper, I ſay, was introduced, in 1741, into all the Spaniſh provinces of the New World.

The monopoly of tobacco began to diſtreſs Peru in 1752, Mexico in 1754, and in the interval of theſe two periods, all the other parts of the hemiſphere dependent on Caſtile.

At divers times, the crown hath appropriated to itſelf, in the New as well as in the Old World, the monopoly of gunpowder, lead, and cards.

The moſt extraordinary of all impoſts, however, is the cruſade. It took its riſe in thoſe ages of folly and fanaticiſm, when millions of Europeans went to loſe their lives in the Eaſt for the recovery of Paleſtine. The court of Rome revived it in favour of Ferdinand, who, in 1509, wiſhed to attack the Moors of Africa. This tax ſtill ſubſiſts in Spain, where it is never lower than twelve ſols ſix deniers [rather more than 6d.], and never higher than four livres [3s. 4d.]. A greater ſum is paid for it in the New World, where it is only collected every two years, and where it riſes from thirty-five ſols to thirteen livres [from about 1s. 7d. to 11s. 8d.], according to the rank and fortunes of the citizens. For this ſum the people acquire the liberty of obtaining abſolution from their confeſſors, for ſuch crimes as are reſerved for the abſolution of the pope and the biſhops; they acquire the right of eating, upon days of abſtinence, ſome kinds of prohibited food, and a multitude of indulgences for ſins already committed, or for thoſe that may be committed in future. The government do not ſtrictly oblige their ſubjects to take this bull: but the prieſts would refuſe the comforts of religion to thoſe who ſhould neglect or diſdain it; and there is not, perhaps, in all Spaniſh America one man ſufficiently bold, or ſufficiently enlightened, to brave this eccleſiaſtical cenſure.

I will not, therefore, addreſs myſelf to a ſet of fooliſh mortals, whom we ſhould in vain adviſe to ſhake off the double yoke under which they are oppreſſed; and

I will not ſay to them, What! do ye not conceive that Providence, which watches over your preſervation, in preſenting you with food which is proper for you, and in perpetuating inceſſantly the appetency you have for it, meant undoubtedly to allow you the free uſe of it? If the Heavens were irritated when you eat of it in a forbidden ſeaſon, there is no power on earth that could diſpenſe with your obedience. Do ye not ſee that your ſtupid credulity is impoſed upon, and that, by an infamous kind of traffic, a being who is not greater than you are, a creature who is nothing before the face of your common Maſter, arrogates to himſelf the right of commanding you in his name, or of freeing you from the obſervation of his orders, for a piece of money? This piece of money, doth he take it for himſelf, or doth he give it to his God? Is his God indigent? Doth he depend upon reſources, or doth he amaſs treaſures? If in the other life he be a rewarder of virtue, and an avenger of crimes, neither the gold which you have given, nor the abſolution which you ſhall have purchaſed with that gold, will have any effect upon the ſcale. If his venal juſtice ſhould admit of corruption, he would be as vile and as contemptible as thoſe who are ſeated in your tribunals. If his repreſentative had the ſame power for himſelf as he hath perſuaded you that he hath for you, he might be the moſt wicked of mankind with impunity, ſince there is not any crime which he would not have it in his power to pardon. Neither will I addreſs myſelf to the ſubaltern miniſters of this proud chief, becauſe they have a common intereſt with him; and that, inſtead of anſwering me, they would light up the ſtake under my feet. But I will addreſs myſelf to the chief himſelf, and to the whole body over which he preſides, and I will tell them:

It is time you ſhould renounce this unworthy monopoly, which diſgraces you, and which diſhonours both the God whom you preach, and the religion which you profeſs. Simplify your doctrine, and purge it from abſurdities. Abandon, with a good grace, all the poſts from which you will be driven. The world is too enlightened to be any longer gulled with incomprehenſibilities that are repugnant to reaſon, or to give credit to miraculous falſehoods, being common to all religions, cannot be admitted as proofs for any one. Return to a practicable and ſocial ſyſtem of morality. Let the reformation of your theology be followed by that of your manners. Since you enjoy the privileges of ſociety, partake of the burdens of it. Do not any longer plead your immunities againſt the efforts of an equitable miniſtry, who would wiſh to bring you back to the general condition of other citizens. Your ſpirit of intoleration, and the odious means by which you have acquired, and ſtill continue to heap up riches upon riches, have done more injury to your opinions, than all the arguments of incredulity. Had you been the appeaſers of public and domeſtic troubles, the advocates of the poor, the ſupport of the perſecuted, the mediators between the huſband and the wife, between fathers and children; had you been, among citizens, the organs of the law, the friends of the throne, and co-operators with the magiſtrate; however abſurd your tenets had been, mankind would have been ſilent. No one would have ventured to attack a claſs of men ſo uſeful and ſo reſpectable. But you have ſpread diviſions over Europe for concerns of the moſt frivolous nature. All countries have been reeking with blood, and for reaſons which at preſent we bluſh to think of. If you would reſtore to your miniſtry its former dignity, be humble, be indulgent, be even poor if it ſhould be neceſſary: for ſo your Founder was. His apoſtles, his diſciples, and their followers, who converted all the known world, were ſo likewiſe. Be neither mountebanks nor hypocrites, nor ſimoniacal, nor dealers in things which you give out as holy. Endeavour to become prieſts again; that is to ſay, delegates from the Moſt High, to preach virtue to men, and to ſhow them the example of it. And thou, Pontiff of Rome, call thyſelf no longer the ſervant of the ſervants of God, unleſs thou wilt be ſo. Conſider that the era of thy bulls, of thine indulgences, of thy pardons, and of thy diſpenſations, is paſt. It is in vain that thou wouldſt ſell the Holy Ghoſt, if no one can be found to purchaſe it. Thy ſpiritual revenue is continually decreaſing, and, ſooner or later, it muſt be reduced to nothing. Whatever the ſubſidies may be, the nations that pay them are naturally inclined to get rid of them; and the ſlighteſt pretence is ſufficient. Since from a fiſherman thou haſt made thyſelf a temporal prince, become, as all good ſovereigns are, the promoter of agriculture, of the arts, of manufactures, of trade, and of population. Thou wilt then have no occaſion for a traffic that is ſcandalous. Thou wilt reſtore to the labours of man the precious days which thou haſt deprived him of; and thou wilt recover our veneration, which thou haſt loſt.

The finances of the Spaniſh continent of the other hemiſphere were for a long time a myſtery to the miniſtry themſelves. The chaos was in ſome meaſure cleared up by M. de la Enſenada. Each of the twelve years of his fortunate adminiſtration, the crown received from theſe countries, or from the duties they collected at the departure and at the return of the fleets, 17,719,448 livres 12 ſols [738,310l. 7s. 2d.]. This reſource of government hath ſince been much increaſed, both from the value of the new taxes, and from the ſtrictneſs that hath been obſerved in the collecting of the old ones. At preſent the public revenue of Mexico amounts to 54,000,000 livres [2,250,000l.]; that of Peru, to 27,000,000 livres [1,125,000l.]; that of Guatimala, of the New Kingdom of Chili, and of Paraguay, to 9,100,000 livres [379,166l. 13s. 4d.]. This amounts in all to 90,100,000 livres [3,754,166l. 13s. 4d. The local expences abſorb 56,700,000 livres [2,362,500l.]; ſo that there remain for the treaſury 34,500,000 livres [1,437,500l.]. Add to this ſum 20,584,450 livres [857,585l. 8s. 4d.], which they receive in Europe itſelf upon the articles ſent to the colonies, or which are brought from thence, and it will be found that the court of Madrid draws annually 55,084,450 livres [2,295,185l. 8s. 4d.] from its provinces in the New World. But all theſe riches do not enter into the royal coffers of the mother-country. Part of them is employed in the Spaniſh iſlands in America, for the expence of ſovereignty, and for the building of ſhips, or for the purchaſing of tobacco.

Deſtructive principles upon which Spain firſt founded its connections with the New World.

Spain had ſcarce diſcovered this other hemiſphere, when ſhe conceived the idea of a ſyſtem unknown to the people of antiquity, but which hath ſince been adopted by modern nations, that of taking into her hands all the productions of her colonies, and the whole care of ſupplying them with proviſions. In this view the government were not ſatisfied with forbidding theſe new eſtabliſhments, under capital penalties, to hold any foreign intercourſe; but they carried their ſtrictneſs ſo far, as to render all communication between them impracticable, and to prohibit them from ſending any of their ſhips to the country from which they originally came. This ſpirit of jealouſy ſoon betrayed itſelf in the mother-country. The ſhips, indeed, were at firſt allowed to ſet out from different ports; but they were all obliged to return to Seville. The wealth which this preference accumulated in this city, ſoon enabled it to obtain, that the ſhips ſhould be diſpatched from its harbour, as well as they were compelled to return to it. The river that waſhes its walls, not being afterwards found conſiderable enough to receive the ſhips, which had gradually increaſed to a certain ſize, it was the peninſula of Cadiz which became the general ſtaple. All foreign merchants ſettled in this port, which was become famous, were forbidden to take a direct part in a trade of ſo lucrative a nature. In vain did they repreſent, that as they conſumed the proviſions of the kingdom, as they paid the taxes, and as they encouraged agriculture, induſtry, and navigation, they ought to be conſidered as citizens. Theſe reaſons were never attended to in a court where cuſtom was the ſupreme law. Theſe active, opulent, and enlightened men, who for a long time paſt had alone kept up the connections between the Ancient and the New

World, were always obliged, with more diſguſt and inconvenience than one would imagine, to cover their moſt trifling tranſactions under a Spaniſh name.

The liberty of undertaking voyages to the great ſettlements that were forming on all ſides in the other hemiſphere, was even much reſtrained with regard to the natives themſelves. The government took the reſolution of regulating, every year, the number of ſhips that it was thought proper to ſend, and to fix the time of their ſetting out. It entered into their ſyſtem of politics, to render theſe voyages very unfrequent, and the permiſſion to fit out a veſſel became a very ſignal favour. In order to obtain it, the capital of the empire was filled with intrigues, and corruption was kept up in all the offices.

Under the pretence of preventing frauds, of eſtabliſhing an invariable order, and of procuring entire ſafety to ſhips that were richly laden, delays, viſitations, ſearchings, ſailors, and formalities of every kind were multiplied to ſuch a degree, both in Europe and America, that the uſeleſs expences doubled the value of ſome goods, and enhanced conſiderably that of others.

The oppreſſion of the cuſtoms completed the ruin of every thing. The articles exported to the other hemiſphere were ſubjected to ſuch duties as had never exiſted in any age, or in any part of the globe. The price even that had been given for them was taxed. The gold, on its return, paid four *per cent.* and the ſilver nine.

Reaſons why the court of Madrid perſevered in their erroneous ſyſtem.

But how was it poſſible that the court of Madrid ſhould be ſo groſsly deceived with reſpect to their intereſts; or ſtill more, how was it poſſible they ſhould perſiſt in their error? Let us endeavour, if we can, to find out the cauſes of ſo ſtrange an infatuation.

The empire of the Spaniards over the New World was eſtabliſhed in an age of ignorance and barbariſm. All the principles of government were then forgotten; and we need not certainly be ſurpriſed, that in the intoxication of their victories, a ſet of proud conquerors ſhould not have reſtored knowledge, which had been baniſhed from Europe for ten or twelve centuries paſt.

At this period of general infatuation, the court of Madrid did not conjecture that the ſettlements they were forming in another hemiſphere would only be uſeful, in as much as they ſhould produce an encouragement of their agriculture, induſtry, and navigation. Far from making the colonies ſubordinate to the mother-country, it was, in ſome meaſure, the mother-country that was ſubordinate to the colonies. Every political economy was either neglected or diſdained; and the grandeur of the monarchy was viewed only in the gold and ſilver of America. The people were ſeized with the ſame ambition, and abandoned their native country in multitudes, to go in ſearch of theſe metals. Theſe immenſe and continual emigrations, left a void in the population of the principal country, which was not filled up by the reſort of foreigners, becauſe they were inceſſantly driven from it by pride and the ſpirit of intoleration.

Spain was confirmed, by ſucceſſes which were maintained rather for a long time, in the falſe road ſhe had at firſt marked out for herſelf. An aſcendency, which ſhe owed to circumſtances alone, appeared to her to be a neceſſary conſequence of her adminiſtration and her maxims.

The calamities which afterwards invaded this kingdom on all ſides might poſſibly have enlightened it. An almoſt continued ſeries of wars, ſome more fatal than others, deprived it of the tranquillity neceſſary to examine into the defects of a ſyſtem which had been uninterruptedly purſued with the greateſt ſecurity.

The knowledge ſucceſſively acquired, or diffuſed by other nations, was very well calculated to refute and diſſipate the errors of Spain. Whether from pride or jealouſy, this nation obſtinately rejected the lights it might have obtained from its rivals or its neighbours.

In default of foreign aids, the Spaniards, born with a ſpirit of reflection, and with penetrating ſagacity, might have diſcovered many circumſtances of conſequence to their proſperity. This kind of genius, which was fit for every thing, unfortunately turned itſelf towards contemplations which could not but increaſe their miſtakes.

To fill up the meaſure of theſe misfortunes, the court of Madrid had, from early times, impoſed a law upon themſelves, to ſupport the meaſures they had followed, in order that they might not be ſuſpected of having lightly taken a reſolution. Events, however diſgraceful they were, did not diſguſt them of theſe politics in their connections with America; and they were confirmed in them, by the combined or ſeparate ſuffrages of a multitude of corrupt or diſhoneſt agents, who enſured their own private fortune by the keeping up of univerſal confuſion.

Conſequences which the fatal combinations of the Spaniſh miniſtry were attended with even in the mother-country.

The miſchief, however, was not felt from the firſt, although ſome celebrated writers have aſſerted this with confidence. According to their opinion, Spain, ſeeing herſelf the miſtreſs of America, voluntarily renounced her manufactures and her agriculture. Such an extravagant idea never entered into the ſyſtem of any nation. At the period when the other hemiſphere was diſcovered, Seville was celebrated for its ſilk manufactures; the woollens of Segovia were eſteemed the fineſt in Europe; and the ſtuffs of Catalonia found an advantageous mart in Italy and in the Levant. Other openings for trade gave freſh activity to this induſtry, and to the cultivation of the lands, which is inſeparable from it. Had it been otherwiſe, how is it poſſible that this monarchy could have invaded ſo many provinces; ſuſtained ſo many tedious and bloody wars; paid ſo many foreign and national troops; equipped ſuch numerous and formidable fleets; kept up diviſion in the neighbouring ſtates, and purchaſed traitors among them; ſubverted all nations by their intrigues; and given the impulſe to all political events? How could they have been the firſt, and, perhaps, the only power of the univerſe?

But all theſe exertions occaſioned an immenſe conſumption of men: ſeveral went over into the New World: this other hemiſphere, more wealthy and more populous, required more merchandiſe; and hands were wanting for all the labours. Then Spain was furniſhed with ſubſiſtence, and her colonies were ſupplied with clothing, by foreign nations, where ſpecie was ſtill ſcarce, and, conſequently, labour at a moderate price. In vain were they excluded from this traffic by ſtrict regulations. Whether they were friends or foes, they carried it on without interruption, and with ſucceſs, under the name of the Spaniards, whoſe honeſty always deſerved the higheſt encomiums. The government thought to remedy what they imagined to be an evil, but which was nothing more than the neceſſary conſequence of the ſtate of things, by renewing the ancient prohibition of exporting either gold or ſilver. At Seville, and afterwards at Cadix, ſome bravoes, called *Metedores*, carried the ingots upon the ramparts, and threw them over to other Metedores, who were to deliver them to the boats that came up to receive them. This clandeſtine trade was never diſturbed by exciſemen, or by guards, who were all paid to ſhut their eyes, More ſtrictneſs would only have ſerved to increaſe the price of the merchandiſe, from the greater difficulty of obtaining the value of it. If, in conformity to the rigour of the ordonnances, any delinquent had been ſeized, tried, and condemned to death, and his property confiſcated, ſuch an atrocious act, far from preventing the exportation of the metals, would have increaſed it; becauſe the perſons who had before been ſatisfied with a moderate gratuity, requiring a ſalary proportioned to the danger they muſt incur, would have increaſed their profits by their riſks, and would have made a great deal of money go out, in order that they might have the more for themſelves.

Such was the ſtate of Spain, when ſhe herſelf voluntarily aggravated her calamities by the expulſion of the Moors.

This nation had reigned for a long time almoſt over the whole of the peninſula. From one poſt to another, they were ſucceſſively driven to Granada; where, after a ten years continuance of a bloody war, they were again forced, in 1492, to ſubmit to the yoke. By the terms of capitulation, they were to be allowed to follow their own form of worſhip; but the conqueror, under various pretences, ſoon wiſhed to deprive them of this ſacred right; and they took up arms in order to maintain it. Fortune declared itſelf againſt theſe unfortunate Muſſulmen; and numbers of them periſhed by the ſword. Others purchaſed the right of taking refuge in Africa; and the reſt were condemned to appear Chriſtians.

This apparent compliance, with which Ferdinand and Charles choſe to be ſatisfied, did not meet with the approbation of Philip II. This perſecuting prince required that the Infidels ſhould be really of his religion. In the hope of engaging them to this more certainly, and in leſs time, he ordered, in 1568, that theſe people ſhould renounce their idiom, their names, their habits, their baths, their cuſtoms, and every thing that could diſtinguiſh them from his other ſubjects. Deſpotiſm was carried ſo far, as to forbid them from changing their reſidence, without the conſent of the magiſtrate; from marrying, without the leave of the biſhop; from bearing arms, under any pretence whatever; and even from having any in their poſſeſſion. An obſtinate reſiſtance muſt have been the conſequence of ſo blind an act of tyranny. Unfortunately, men who had no leader, no diſcipline, and no means of carrying on the war, could make none but unavailing efforts againſt numerous armies, accuſtomed to carnage, and commanded by experienced generals. The inhabitants of the towns and country places, who had entered into the rebellion, were almoſt generally exterminated. Servitude became the lot of all the priſoners of both ſexes. Thoſe even of the Moors who had remained quietly at home, were conveyed into the interior provinces of the kingdom, where they met with nothing but inſults and reproach.

This diſperſion, and this humiliation, did not produce the effect that was expected. The cruelties, which were inceſſantly renewed by a ſanguinary tribunal, were not more availing. It appeared to the clergy, that the only way remaining was to expel from the monarchy all theſe enemies who ſo obſtinately perſiſted in their doctrines. This was accompliſhed in 1610, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of ſome ſtateſmen, and notwithſtanding the ſtill warmer ſolicitations of the grandees, who kept in their palaces, or on their domain, many ſlaves of the nation that was perſecuted by ſuperſtition.

We find from all accounts, that this proſcription deprived Spain of a million of inhabitants. Some authentic pieces, collected by Bleda, a prudent and contemporary writer, ſhow that this number muſt be reduced to four hundred and twenty-nine thouſand three hundred and fourteen. This was not the whole of the Moors that had eſcaped the fury of the wars and the fanaticiſm of the conquerors, or that remained from the emigrations, ſometimes tolerated and ſometimes clandeſtine. The government retained the women that were married to former Chriſtians, whoſe faith was not ſuſpicious to the biſhops, and all the children under ſeven years of age.

In the meanwhile the ſtate loſt the twentieth part of their population, and the moſt laborious part, as the proſcribed and perſecuted ſects will always be. Whatever were the occupations of theſe people; whether their ſtrength was employed in the fields, in the manufactures, or in the meaneſt offices of ſociety, it is certain that a great deficiency was made in the labours, as well as in the tributes collected. The burden which had been borne by the infidels fell chiefly upon the weavers. This additional weight drove many of them into Flanders and into Italy; while the reſt, without quitting the country, renounced their profeſſion. The ſilks of Valencia, and the fine wool of Andaluſia and Caſtile, were no longer manufactured by the Spaniards.

The treaſury having no more manufacturers to oppreſs, now oppreſſed the farmers. The taxes levied upon agriculture were as ill-judged as they were various and exceſſive. Beſide general duties, there were what the financiers call extraordinary duties, which is a mode of levying money upon a particular claſs of citizens; a kind of tax unprofitable to the ſtate, and ruinous to thoſe who are taxed, and which tends only to enrich the perſon who hath contrived it. Theſe reſources proved inadequate to the urgent neceſſities of government, and the financiers were called upon to advance conſiderable ſums. At this period they became maſters of the ſtate, and were empowered to farm out the ſeveral parts of their leaſe. This introduced a multitude of agents, and with them numberleſs reſtraints and oppreſſions. The laws which theſe rapacious men were allowed to enact, were only ſo many ſnares to ſeduce the honeſt and credulous. In proceſs of time, they uſurped the ſovereign authority, and found means to elude the royal tribunals, to chooſe judges for themſelves, and to pay them.

The owners of the lands that were oppreſſed by this tyranny, either threw up their eſtates, or neglected the improvement of them. That fertile peninſula, which, though ſubject to frequent droughts, ſtill afforded ſubſiſtence to thirteen or fourteen millions of inhabitants before the diſcovery of America, and had formerly been the granary of Rome and of all Italy, was ſoon overſpread with thorns and briars. The pernicious cuſtom of fixing the price of corn was then adopted; and public granaries were eſtabliſhed in every province, which were conſequently managed without either ſkill, care, or honeſty. Beſides, what advantage could be expected to ariſe from ſuch precarious reſources? How could it poſſibly enter into any one's thoughts, to lay reſtraints upon the price of corn, in order to increaſe the quantity of it; to raiſe the price of proviſions, in order to make them cheaper; or to facilitate monopoly, in order to prevent it?

When once a nation hath begun to decline, it ſeldom recovers itſelf. The loſs of population, of the manufactures, of trade, and of agriculture, was attended with the greateſt evils. While Europe was daily improving in knowledge, and all nations were animated with a ſpirit of induſtry, Spain was falling into a ſtate of inaction and barbariſm. The duties of the former cuſtoms, which were ſtill ſuffered to remain upon goods paſſing from one province to another, were carried to ſuch an exceſs, as to prevent all communication between them. Even the conveyance of money from one province to another was prohibited. In a ſhort time, not the leaſt ſign of a road was to be ſeen. Travellers were ſtopped at the croſſing of rivers, where there was neither bridge nor boats. There was not a ſingle canal, or one navigable river. People, the moſt ſuperſtitious in the world, with regard to the obſervance of faſt days, ſuffered their fiſheries to decline, and bought fiſh every year to the amount of twelve millions [500,000l.]. Except a few ill-built veſſels deſtined for their colonies, they had not a ſingle ſhip belonging to government in their harbours. Their coaſts lay expoſed to the depredations of the Barbary corſairs. To avoid theſe, they were obliged to freight upon foreign bottoms, even the *aviſos* they ſent to the Canary iſlands and to America. Philip IV. poſſeſſed of all the rich mines of America, at once found all his gold changed into copper, and was reduced to the neceſſity of making his copper coin bear almoſt the ſame value as that of ſilver.

Theſe were not the greateſt grievances of the monarchy. Spain, from an abſurd and ſuperſtitious veneration for the age of her conqueſts, ſcornfully rejected whatever was not practiſed in thoſe glorious days. The Spaniards ſaw all other nations growing more enlightened, more exalted, and more powerful; but thought it beneath them to copy after any one of them. An abſolute contempt for the improvements and cuſtoms of their neighbours, formed the diſtinguiſhing character of this people.

The inquiſition, that tremendous tribunal, which was at firſt eſtabliſhed, in order to ſtop the progreſs of Judaiſm and of the Coran, had entirely altered the character of the Spaniards. It had accuſtomed them to reſerve, to miſtruſt, and to jealouſy. And, indeed, how ſhould it have been otherwiſe? When a ſon could accuſe his father, a mother her child and her huſband, a man his friend or his fellow-citizen; when mutual accuſations were the bent of all the paſſions; when a man might be ſeized upon in the midſt of his children, and thrown into a dark dungeon, by the ſatellites, either in the day, or in the night-time; when the crime laid to a man's charge was concealed from him; when a man was compelled to defend himſelf, and, being in priſon for a fault which he had not committed, was afterwards detained and tried for a ſecret fault which he had avowed; when the trial was carried on, and finiſhed, without confronting the witneſſes; when ſentence was pronounced, without allowing the accuſed perſon to ſay any thing in his defence: then men accuſtomed themſelves to blood, and to the moſt atrocious ſcenes: then their minds were filled with that ſpirit of fanaticiſm which diſplayed itſelf ſo cruelly in both hemiſpheres. Religious diſputes occaſioned, indeed, no diſturbances or ravages in Spain; but the nation remained in a ſtate of the moſt profound ignorance. Such diſputes, though always abſurd in themſelves, ſerve, however, to exerciſe the mind. They induce men to read and reflect, to conſult antiquity, ſtudy hiſtory, and the ancient languages; hence ariſes criticiſm, which is productive of true taſte. The ſubject that firſt excited the exertion of the mind ſoon becomes of no conſequence; books written on controverſial points are neglected, but the knowledge they have diffuſed remains. Religious matters are like thoſe active and volatile particles that exiſt in all bodies fit for fermentation. They firſt occaſion a cloud in the liquor that was before clear, but ſoon put the whole maſs in motion. In this ferment, they fly off, or ſink to the bottom; and when the whole is depurated, nothing remains but a ſoft, pleaſant, and nutritive fluid. But in the general ferment of theological diſputes, all the refuſe ſtill continued in Spain. Superſtition had ſo blinded the nation, that they even gloried in their infatuation.

Inſtead of that energy which could alone animate the ſeveral parts of thoſe wide dominions that lay too much ſcattered, the Spaniards were ſo ſlow in their motions, that all buſineſs was impeded. Such a variety of forms, precautions, and deliberations, were multiplied to prevent impoſition, that they only put a ſtop to every commercial tranſaction.

The wars in which the Spaniards were engaged were as ill conducted as their ſyſtem of politics. A population, which was hardly ſufficient for the many garriſons they kept in Italy, in the Low Countries, in Africa, and in the Indies, rendered them incapable of raiſing an army at home. At the firſt breaking out of a war, they were obliged to have recourſe to foreign troops. The few Spaniards who were ſent to fight along with theſe mercenaries, were ſo far from being able to manage them, that their own allegiance was frequently ſhaken by this intercourſe. They have often revolted together with the foreign troops, and ravaged the provinces that were committed to their protection.

A regular pay would infallibly have prevented, or ſoon put a ſtop to this form of ſedition. But to provide for the payment of troops, and to keep them in that ſtate of dependence and ſubordination ſo neceſſary to good diſcipline, government ſhould have ſuppreſſed that multitude of uſeleſs officers, who, by their ſalaries and their oppreſſions, abſorbed the greateſt part of the public revenue; the moſt ancient rights of the crown ſhould not have been alienated for a trifling conſideration, or ſuffered to be invaded; nor ſhould the royal treaſures have been ſquandered away, to entertain ſpies, and to procure traitors in every country. But care ſhould have been particularly taken, that the grandeur of the prince ſhould not have been made to conſiſt in granting penſions and favours to all who had no other claim, but that which they derived from their boldneſs in aſking for them.

This noble and iniquitous way of receiving alms was become general. The Spaniard, naturally generous, having acquired a ſpirit of pride, diſdained the common occupations of life, and aſpired after nothing but governments, biſhoprics, and the chief employments in the ſtate.

Thoſe who could not attain to theſe preferments, glorying in their proud inſolence, ſtill aſſumed the ſtyle of the court, and maintained as much gravity in their idleneſs, as a miniſter who was abſorbed in ſtate affairs.

Even the lower claſs of the people would have thought they defiled their victorious hands by proſtituting them to uſeful labours. They employed themſelves careleſsly, even in thoſe which were the moſt creditable, and truſted all the reſt to foreigners, who carried fortunes away with them, which ſerved to fertilize or to enrich their own country.

Men born to no property, meanly preferring idle ſlavery to laborious liberty, eagerly ſolicited to be admitted into the number of domeſtics that the great kept in their retinue, with that pomp which magnificently diſplays the pride of the moſt uſeleſs, and the degradation of the moſt neceſſary claſs of men.

Thoſe who had too much vanity remaining to live without ſome diſtinction, crowded into the convents, where ſuperſtitious men had long ſince provided a convenient retreat for their indolence, and had carried their abſurdity ſo far, as to laviſh marks of diſtinction upon them.

Even the Spaniards who had competent fortunes, languiſhed in a ſtate of celibacy, chooſing rather to give up all thoughts of poſterity, than to attend to the eſtabliſhment of it. If ſome, induced by love and virtuous motives, choſe, in imitation of the great, to enter into marriage, they ſent their ſons, in their earlier years, to be educated in the ſuperſtitious manner of the colleges; and from the age of fifteen reſigned them to the courtezans. The abilities and ſtrength of theſe young men being thus vitiated, they were equally enervated by theſe infamous connections, which they did not even break off when they entered into the ſacred ties of matrimony.

Out of this degenerate race were choſen the men who were to hold the reins of government. Their adminiſtration was anſwerable to their education, being a conſtant ſcene of idleneſs and corruption. They ſeldom diſcovered any ſenſe of virtue, or principles of equity, or the leaſt deſire of promoting the happineſs of their fellow-creatures. They thought only of plundering the provinces intruſted to their care, in order to diſſipate in idleneſs and profuſion at Madrid the fruits of their extortion. This conduct was always purſued with impunity, though it often occaſioned ſeditions, inſurrections, conſpiracies, and ſometimes revolutions.

Beſide theſe misfortunes, the ſtates that were united to Caſtile by marriage or conqueſt contributed to complete the ruin of the Spaniſh monarchy. The Low Countries did not afford a ſufficiency to pay the garriſons that were kept to defend them. Franche Compté ſupplied nothing; Sardinia, Sicily, and the Milaneſe, were even burdenſome to government. The tributes of Naples and Portugal were mortgaged to foreigners. Arragon, Valencia, Catalonia, Rouſſillon, the Balearic iſlands, and Navarre pretended they owed nothing to the monarchy but a free gift, which was always ſettled by their deputies, but ſeldom to the ſatisfaction of a rapacious court, exhauſted by abſurd liberalities.

Calamities which the infatuation of the court of Spain hath accumulated on its colonies.

While the mother-country was declining, the colonies could not poſſibly flouriſh. If the Spaniards had underſtood their true intereſt, they would perhaps, on the firſt diſcovery of America, have been content with eſtabliſhing an equitable intercourſe with the Indians, which would have ſettled a mutual dependence and reciprocal profits between the two nations. The manufactures of the Old World would have been bartered for the produce of the mines of the New; and wrought iron would have been exchanged for its weight of unwrought ſilver. A laſting union, the neceſſary conſequence of a peaceable traffic, would have been eſtabliſhed without bloodſhed or devaſtation. Spain would equally have been miſtreſs of Mexico and Peru; becauſe any nation that cultivates the arts, and does not communicate the method by which it carries them on, will always have an evident ſuperiority over thoſe to whom it ſells its manufactures.

This method of reaſoning was not adopted by the Spaniards. The eaſe with which they had ſubdued the Indians, the aſcendant which Spain had aſſumed over all Europe, the natural pride of conquerors, their ignorance of the true principles of commerce; all theſe, and various other cauſes, prevented them from eſtabliſhing in the New World a ſyſtem of government founded upon good principles.

The depopulation of America was the melancholy effect of this irregularity. The firſt ſteps of the conquerors were marked with ſtreams of blood. Aſtoniſhed as much at their own victories as the ſavages were at their defeat, and intoxicated with their ſucceſs, they reſolved to extirpate the people they had plundered. Innumerable nations diſappeared from the face of the earth at the arrival of theſe barbarians; and theſe horrid ſcenes of cruelty have been aſcribed to a thirſt of gold, and to a ſpirit of fanaticiſm.

But the ferocious diſpoſition natural to man, unreſtrained by the fear of puniſhment, or by any ſenſe of ſhame, and unawed by the preſence of civilized men, might ſo far conceal from the Spaniards the image of an organization ſimilar to their own (a ſimilarity which is the foundation of all moral duties), as to induce them to treat their new-diſcovered brethren as they did the wild beaſts of the other hemiſphere, and to do it with as little remorſe: beſides, that the cruelty ariſing from military exploits increaſes in proportion to the dangers the ſoldier hath gone through, to thoſe he now endures, or to thoſe he expects: Is he not of a more ſanguinary diſpoſition in remote countries than at home; and do not the ſentiments of humanity grow weaker the more diſtant we are from our native country? It may likewiſe be conjectured, that the Spaniards, who, on their firſt landing, were taken for gods, might be afraid of being detected and maſſacred; that they miſtruſted the marks of kindneſs that were ſhown them; that when once they had begun to ſhed blood, they thought their own ſafety required that they ſhould not diſcontinue; that their army, conſiſting only of a ſmall number of men, being ſurrounded by an innumerable multitude of natives, whoſe language they did not underſtand, and whoſe cuſtoms and manners they were ſtrangers to, was ſeized with a panic, either well or ill founded.

The Spaniards, the deſcendants or ſlaves of the Viſigoths, like them, divided among themſelves the deſert lands, and the men who had eſcaped their ſword. Moſt of theſe wretched creatures did not long ſurvive, doomed to a ſtate of ſlavery worſe than death. The laws that were occaſionally eſtabliſhed in order to alleviate the hardſhips of their ſervitude, afforded them but ſmall relief. The ſavage, proud, and rapacious Spaniards paid as little regard to the commands of a monarch who was too far remote from them, as to the tears of the poor miſerable Indians.

The mines proved ſtill a greater cauſe of deſtruction. Ever ſince the diſcovery of America, the Spaniards had attended only to this ſpecies of wealth. In vain did ſome men of more enlightened underſtanding exclaim againſt this infatuation. Let the gold remain where it is, ſaid they, provided the ſurface of the earth that covers it can but produce an ear of corn that will make bread, or a blade of graſs to feed your ſheep. The only metal you really want is iron. Work it into ſaws, hammers, and ploughſhares, but not into weapons of deſtruction. The quantity of gold requiſite for the purpoſes of exchange is ſo inconſiderable, that it is unneceſſary to accumulate any great ſtock of it. It is very immaterial whether a hundred ells of cloth, or one pound or twenty pounds of gold, be given in exchange. The Spaniards have acted like the dog in the fable, that dropped the meat out of his mouth, to bite at the image of it in the water, and was drowned in attempting to get it.

Unfortunately the Indians were the victims of this fatal error. Thoſe unhappy men were ſent to work at a very great depth under ground, where they were deprived of day-light, of a free and wholeſome air, and of the comfort of mingling their tears with thoſe of their friends and relations; and were doomed to dig their own graves in thoſe dark manſions, which now contain more aſhes of the dead than gold duſt. All the nations of the univerſe being incenſed at theſe barbarities, the Spaniſh writers endeavoured to prove, that the working of the mines was not attended with any danger: but the evidence of the ſenſes teſtified the contrary. It was well known that man could not dwell in the obſcure caverns of the earth, without ſuffering ſome inconvenience with reſpect to his eyeſight; that he could not breathe mercurial, ſulphureous, arſenical, and peſtilential vapours, without injury to his lungs: that unwholeſome air could not be abſorbed by the pores of the ſkin, or ſwallowed by the mouth, without prejudice to the ſtomach, and to the humours of the body. But men coming out of the mines preſented the image of death under all its forms; a tormenting cough, a hideous atrophy, a melancholy maraſmus, with convulſions, contractions, and diſtortions of the limbs. The miners were obſerved to have wrinkles, debility, tremblings, and a declining life, at the age of the moſt vigorous health; and conſequently, far from giving any credit to the accounts of the Spaniards, their deceit excited indignation, when their ignorance was not an object of ridicule.

Numbers of the Americans, in order to eſcape theſe means of deſtruction, and to withdraw themſelves from other acts of European tyranny, took refuge in the foreſts, and among inacceſſible mountains. In theſe rough and wild climates, they contracted a ferocious diſpoſition, which frequently diſtreſſed their mercileſs oppreſſors, and was the cauſe of much bloodſhed.

In ſome diſtricts, deſpair was carried ſo far, that the men, in order not to leave behind them any heirs of their misfortunes, reſolved unanimouſly to have no connection with the women. This abſtinence from the moſt natural deſire implanted in human nature, which is the only inſtance of the kind ever recorded in hiſtory, ſeems to have been reſerved to the era of the diſcovery of the New World, as a perpetual monument of Spaniſh tyranny. What more could the Americans oppoſe to this thirſt of deſtruction, than the horrid vow of ceaſing to perpetuate their poſterity? Thus the earth was ſtained with the blood of the fathers, and deprived of the ſucceeding generation.

From this period the country ſeemed to lie under a curſe with reſpect to theſe barbarous conquerors. The empire they had founded began to tend to general deſtruction. Profligacy and corruption made a rapid progreſs among them. The moſt important fortreſſes were ſuffered to decay. The country was left without arms or magazines. The ſoldiers, who were neither exerciſed, fed, nor clothed, became beggars or thieves. The firſt principles of war and navigation were forgotten, as well as the very names of the inſtruments made uſe of in theſe two neceſſary arts.

Trade conſiſted only in the art of cheating. The gold and ſilver, which were to be brought into the king's coffers, were fraudulently diminiſhed, and reduced to a fourth part of the ſum they ought to have produced. All orders of men, corrupted by avarice, united their efforts to prevent a true ſtate of things from being laid before the throne, or to ſcreen thoſe perſons who had rendered themſelves obnoxious to the law. The magiſtrates of every rank and degree always unanimouſly exerted themſelves to ſupport each other in their injuſtice.

The ſcene of confuſion occaſioned by theſe extortions introduced the fatal expedient of all ill governed ſtates, that of numberleſs taxes: it ſeemed as if government had two objects in view, to put a ſtop to every kind of induſtry, and to increaſe oppreſſion.

Ignorance kept pace with injuſtice. Europe was not then much enlightened. Even the knowledge that began to diffuſe itſelf in this quarter of the globe was rejected by Spain. In the meanwhile, a thicker cloud was ſpread over America. The moſt ſimple notions, upon objects of the greateſt importance, were entirely obliterated there.

As ignorance is always favourable to ſuperſtition, the miniſters of religion, rather more enlightened than the coloniſts, aſſumed a ſuperiority over them in the management of all public affairs. Being more ſecure of impunity, they were always the moſt forward to break through the laws of juſtice, and through all rules of morality and decency. The leaſt corrupt among them became traders, and the reſt availed themſelves of their eccleſiaſtical power to extort from the Indians all they were poſſeſſed of.

The hatred which aroſe between the Spaniards born in America, and thoſe who came from Europe, completed their ruin. The court had imprudently laid the foundation of theſe unhappy diviſions. The Creoles had been falſely repreſented as little better than barbarians, and nearly of the ſame character as Indians. They thought they could not depend upon their ſkill, courage, or fidelity, and therefore determined to exclude them from all places of truſt and profit. This injurious reſolution irritated the Creoles. The Spaniards, who were inveſted with authority over them, were ſo far from endeavouring to reconcile them, that they ſtudied, on the contrary, to exaſperate them by humiliating partialities. This produced an inveterate hatred between theſe two orders of men, one of which was loaded with favours, and the other ſtigmatized with diſgrace. This animoſity hath often broken out in ſuch a manner as to endanger the dominion of the mother-country in the New World. This diſcord was fomented by the clergy on both ſides, who had alſo been infected with the contagion of theſe diſorders.

Spain begins to recover from its lethargy.

It is a pleaſing taſk to us to be able to think, and to write, that the condition of Spain is every day improving. No longer do the nobility affect thoſe airs of independence which ſometimes embarraſs the government. Men of no rank, but of ability, have riſen to the direction of public affairs, which, for too long a time, was confined to perſons of high birth. The countries which are more populous and better cultivated, yield fewer briars and more harveſts. From the manufactures of Grenada, of Malaga, of Seville, of Priego, of Toledo, of Talavera, and eſpecially of Valencia, ſilks are produced which are in ſome repute, and which deſerve it. The manufactures of Saint Ildefonſo furniſh very beautiful mirrors; thoſe of Guadalaxara and of Eſcaray ſupply cloths and ſcarlets; and thoſe of Madrid, hats, ribands, tapeſtry, and porcelain. All Catalonia is filled with manufactures of arms and toys, of ſilk ſtockings and handkerchiefs, of printed cottons, of common woollen goods, and of gold and ſilver and other lace. Communications are beginning to be opened between the capital and the provinces, and theſe magnificent roads are planted with uſeful or agreeable trees. Canals for watering or navigation are digged, the plan of which, ſuggeſted by foreigners, had ſo long diſguſted the pride of the miniſtry and that of the people. Excellent manufactures of paper; printing executed with much taſte; and ſocieties conſecrated to arts of elegance and utility, and to the ſciences, will ſooner or later diſpel prejudice and ignorance. Theſe wiſe eſtabliſhments will be ſeconded by the young men whom the miniſtry ſend for inſtruction into thoſe countries, the glory and proſperity of which hath been extended by their knowledge. The erroneous ſyſtem of tributes, ſo difficult to correct, hath already undergone very material reformations. The national revenue, formerly ſo limited, hath ariſen, as it is ſaid, to 140,400,000 livres [5,850,000l.]. If the terrier, which the court of Madrid is occupied in making ſince the year 1749, be ſettled on good principles, and if it be carried into execution, the treaſury will again find its reſources increaſe, and the perſons who contribute will be relieved.

At the death of the emperor Charles V. the public treaſury was ſo much burdened, that it was deliberated whether it would not be proper to annul ſo many fatal engagements. Theſe amounted to a thouſand millions of livres [41,666,666l. 13s. 4d.], or perhaps more, under the uneaſy and turbulent reign of his ſon Philip. The intereſt of the ſums advanced to government, abſorbed, in 1688, all the produce of the taxes; and it then became neceſſary to have recourſe to an entire bankruptcy. The events ſubſequent to this great criſis were all of them ſo unfortunate, that the finances fell ſuddenly into the ſame ſtate of confuſion from which a deſperate but neceſſary reſolution had extricated them. In the beginning of the century, a more enlightened adminiſtration eſtabliſhed a ſyſtem of order in the recoveries, and a regularity in the expences, which would have liberated the ſtate, had it not been for the revolutions which ſucceeded each other, with a degree of rapidity which it is difficult to trace. Nevertheleſs, in 1759, the debts of the crown amounted to no more than 160,000,000 of livres [6,666,666l. 13s. 4d.], which Ferdinand left in his coffers. His ſucceſſor employed half of this ſum in liquidating ſome debts; the reſt of it was conſumed in the war of Portugal, in the augmentation of the navy, and in a multitude of expences that were neceſſary to rouſe the monarchy from that languid ſtate in which it had been plunged during two centuries of ignorance and inactivity.

The vigilance of the new government hath not confined itſelf to the ſuppreſſion of part of the evils which contributed to the ruin of their poſſeſſions in Europe. Attention hath alſo been paid to ſome of the abuſes which impeded the proſperity of their colonies. Their governors have been choſen with more care, and better ſuperintended. Some of the vices that had inſinuated themſelves into the tribunals have been reformed; all the branches of adminiſtration have been improved; and even the fate of the Indians is become leſs unhappy.

Means that Spain ought to employ to haſten her proſperity in Europe and in America.

Theſe firſt ſteps towards a reformation muſt be an inducement to the Spaniſh miniſtry to hope, that a good form of government may be eſtabliſhed, when the true principles on which it is founded ſhall be once known, and the proper means made uſe of to effect it. The character of the nation is not an invincible obſtacle to this change, as it is too generally thought to be. Indolence is not ſo natural to the Spaniards as we imagine. If we look back to thoſe times in which this unfavourable prejudice was firſt entertained, we ſhall find that this want of activity did not extend to every thing; and that if Spain was inactive at home, ſhe was not ſo abroad, but was inceſſantly diſturbing the repoſe of her neighbours. Her idleneſs proceeds in ſome degree from fooliſh pride. Becauſe the nobility were unemployed, the people imagined it was a mark of nobility to do nothing. They all wanted to enjoy the ſame prerogative; and the ſtarved, half-naked Spaniard, careleſsly ſitting on the ground, looks with pity on his neighbours, who are well clothed, live well, work, and laugh at his folly. The one, from a motive of pride, deſpiſes the conveniencies of life; while the other, from a principle of vanity, endeavours to acquire them. The climate had made the Spaniard abſtemious, and indigence hath rendered him more ſo. The monkiſh ſpirit, to which he hath long been ſubject, makes him conſider poverty, which is occaſioned by his vices, as a virtue. As he hath no property, he covets none; but his averſion for labour is greater ſtill than his contempt for riches.

That poor and proud people have nothing left of their ancient character, but an immoderate fondneſs for every thing that hath the appearance of grandeur. They muſt be flattered with chimerical ideas, and animated with the ſtrongeſt hopes of glory. The ſatisfaction they feel in depending on none but the crown, ſince the abaſement of the grandees, makes them receive all that comes from the court with reſpect and confidence. This powerful influence might be made ſubſervient to their happineſs. Some means might be contrived to perſuade them that labour is honourable, and the nation will ſoon become what it was before the diſcovery of America, in thoſe glorious times, when, without any foreign aid, Spain threatened the liberties of all Europe.

When the imagination of this people is once properly directed, and they are brought to be aſhamed of their haughty ſpirit of indolence, other evils muſt be attended to. The moſt deſtructive to the bulk of the nation is the want of population. Well-governed colonies will naturally increaſe the population of the mother-country, which on her part promotes the increaſe of theirs, by ſupplying them with advantageous marts for the produce of their induſtry. It is on this plan, alike intereſting to humanity and ſound policy, that the more enlightened nations of the Old Hemiſphere have formed their ſettlements in the New one. This wiſe and noble deſign hath been univerſally crowned with ſucceſs. Spain alone, which had formed her ſyſtem in a darker age, hath ſeen her population decreaſe at home, in proportion as her poſſeſſions increaſed abroad.

When the diſproportion between the extent of a territory and its inhabitants is not extreme, the balance may be gradually reſtored by activity, economy, great encouragements given to matrimony, and a long peace. Spain, which, according to the exact account taken in 1768, hath no more than nine millions three hundred and ſeven thouſand eight hundred and four inhabitants of every age and ſex, and which doth not reckon, in her colonies, the tenth part of the individuals that would be neceſſary to cultivate them, cannot remedy this evil either at home or abroad, without new and extraordinary efforts. To increaſe the laborious claſties of men, there muſt be a reduction of the clergy, who enervate and deſtroy the ſtate. Two thirds of her military force muſt be aboliſhed, and theſe ſoldiers muſt be employed in the arts; ſince the connection with France, and the weakneſs of Portugal, no longer render them neceſſary. The government muſt apply itſelf to alleviate the burdens of the people, as ſoon as its poſſeſſions in both hemiſpheres are extricated from that confuſion and diſorder into which they had been thrown, for theſe two centuries paſt, through the effects of indolence, ignorance, and tyranny. But it is firſt abſolutely neceſſary that the infamous tribunal of the inquiſition ſhould be aboliſhed.

Superſtition, whatever may be the reaſon of it, prevails among all nations, whether rude or civilized. It proceeds undoubtedly from the fear of evil, and from the ignorance of its cauſes, or of its remedy. At leaſt this alone is ſufficient to imprint it in the minds of all men. The calamities of nature, plagues, ſickneſs, unforeſeen accidents, deſtructive phenomena, all the latent cauſes of pain and death, are ſo univerſal on earth, that it would be very ſurpriſing if man had not been deeply affected with them in every country and in every age.

But this natural fear muſt always have increaſed, or have been magnified in proportion to ignorance and ſenſibility. It muſt have given riſe to the worſhip of the elements that are moſt deſtructive to the earth, ſuch as manifeſt themſelves in inundations, conflagrations, and plagues; and to the worſhip of animals, whether venomous or voracious, but always noxious. Hence too muſt have ariſen the worſhip of men who have done the greateſt injuries to mankind, of conquerors, of fortunate impoſtors, of the workers of prodigies, apparently good or bad; and the worſhip of inviſible and imaginary beings, ſuppoſed to lie concealed in every inſtrument of deſtruction. Reflection, and the ſtudy of nature, muſt have inſenſibly leſſened the number of theſe inviſible agents, and the human mind muſt have riſen from idolatry to theiſm; but this laſt ſimple and ſublime idea will always have remained imperfect and confuſed in the minds of the vulgar, and mixed with a multitude of errors and fancies.

Revelation had confirmed and perfected the idea of the doctrine of the unity of God; and, perhaps, a more pure religion would then have been eſtabliſhed, had not the northern barbarians, who poured in upon the ſeveral provinces of the Roman empire, brought along with them their own ſacred prejudices, which could not be diſpelled but by other fables. Unfortunately, Chriſtianity was preached to men incapable of underſtanding it thoroughly. They would not embrace it, unleſs it were attended with that external pomp and ſhow in which ignorance delights. Intereſted motives burdened it, and debaſed it more and more with other obſervances, and conſtantly invented new doctrines and miracles, which were the more revered as they were the leſs credible. The nations, engaged during twelve centuries in dividing and conteſting about the ſeveral provinces of an univerſal monarchy, which one nation had formed in leſs than two hundred years, admitted, without examination, all the errors which the prieſts, after much controverſy, had agreed to teach the multitude. But the clergy, too numerous to maintain any unanimity of opinion, had fomented the ſeeds of diviſion, which muſt ſooner or later be communicated to the people. The time came, when the ſame ſpirit of ambition and avarice that actuated the whole church, exerted itſelf with great animoſity againſt many ſuperſtitions that were univerſally adopted.

As it was from cuſtom that the people had received all thoſe puerile notions which they had ſuffered themſelves to be deluded into, and that they were not attached to them from national principles or party ſpirit, thoſe who were moſt intereſted in ſupporting them were unable to defend them, when they were attacked with that ſteadineſs that was calculated to fix the attention of the public. But nothing ſo much promoted the reformation of Luther and Calvin, as the liberty they granted to every one to examine and determine finally upon the religious principles he had been taught. Though the multitude were incapable of undertaking this diſcuſſion, yet every man plumed himſelf upon having the privilege to determine on a ſubject in which his moſt valuable and moſt important intereſts were concerned. The commotion was ſo univerſal, that the new opinions would in all probability have triumphed totally over the old, had not the magiſtracy thought it their intereſt to ſtem the torrent. Implicit obedience was as neceſſary for the ſupport of the ſupreme power, as for that of religion, and was the ſureſt foundation of its authority; that power began therefore to be alarmed, leſt thoſe who had overturned the old and firm foundations of the Roman hierarchy might next proceed to examine into its own prerogatives. The republican ſpirit which naturally ſpread itſelf among the reformed contributed to increaſe this diſtruſt.

The kings of Spain, more jealous of their power than other ſovereigns, endeavoured to ſupport it, by eſtabliſhing a more uniform ſyſtem of ſuperſtition. They were not ſenſible that the opinions of men, concerning an unknown Being, cannot be all the ſame. In vain did reaſon expoſtulate with thoſe weak monarchs, alleging that no power had a right to preſcribe to men what they were to think; that ſociety, in order to ſupport itſelf, is under no neceſſity of reſtraining the freedom of the ſoul; that to compel men to ſubſcribe to certain articles of faith, is to exact a falſe oath, which makes a man a traitor to his coſcience, in order that he may be a faithful ſubject; and that a citizen who ſerves his country is, in a political light, preferable to him who is orthodox to no purpoſe. Theſe permanent and inconteſtable principles were not attended to. They were overruled by the proſpect of great advantage, and ſtill more by the furious clamours of a multitude of fanatical prieſts, who haſtened to aſſume the ſupreme authority. The prince, thus reduced to become their ſlave, was forced to abandon his ſubjects to their caprices, to ſuffer them to be oppreſſed, and to become an idle ſpectator of the cruelties exerciſed againſt them. From that time, ſuperſtitious manners, beneficial only to the prieſthood, became prejudicial to ſociety. A people thus corrupt and degenerate were the moſt cruel of any. Their obedience to the monarch was ſubordinate to the will of the prieſt, who oppreſſed every other power, and was in fact the ſovereign of the ſtate.

Inaction was the neceſſary conſequence of a ſuperſtition that enervated all the faculties of the ſoul. The project which the Romans formed from their earlieſt origin, of becoming maſters of the world, ſhowed itſelf even in their religion. It was Victory, Bellona, Fortune, the genius of the Roman people, Rome herſelf, that were their gods. A nation that endeavoured to imitate their example, and thought of becoming conquerors, adopted a monkiſh government, which hath deſtroyed every proſpect of ſucceſs, and will effectually prevent their reſtoration either in Spain or America, unleſs this kind of government be totally ſubverted, and every idea of the horror it excites obliterated with it. The ſuppreſſion of the inquiſition muſt certainly haſten this great change; and it is a pleaſing expectation to think, that if the court of Madrid will not determine upon this neceſſary ſtep, they will one day be compelled to it by a humane conqueror, who will inſert it as the firſt article in a treaty of peace, that *the Autos-da-fé ſhall be aboliſhed in all the Spaniſh dominions both in Europe and America.*

This ſtep, however neceſſary it may be towards the reſtoration of the monarchy, is not alone ſufficient. Though Spain hath employed more art to conceal her weakneſs, than was neceſſary to enable her to acquire ſtrength, the world is not unacquainted with the diſorders ſhe labours under. They have taken ſo deep a root, and are of ſo inveterate a nature, that they cannot be remedied without foreign aids. If ſhe will but ſubmit to accept them, ſhe will ſoon ſee her provinces in both hemiſpheres filled with new inhabitants, who will bring with them numberleſs branches of induſtry.

The northern and ſouthern nations, actuated by that paſſion for riches which is the characteriſtic of the preſent age, will reſort in multitudes to the regions that are thrown open to excite their emulation. The riches of the public will increaſe in proportion to thoſe of individuals; and thoſe which have been acquired by foreigners will become a national wealth, if they be permitted to enjoy them with that ſecurity, ſatisfaction, and diſtinction, which may induce them to forget their native country.

Spain would ſoon ſee her population increaſe to the degree ſhe would wiſh, if ſhe not only admitted perſons of her own perſuaſion, but even encouraged, indiſcriminately, all ſects to ſettle among them. This might be done without injury to the principles of religion, and without deviating from the maxims of true policy. Well-regulated governments are not diſturbed by the diverſity of opinions that prevail in them; neither doth Chriſtianity, rightly underſtood, proſcribe a liberty of conſcience. The truth of theſe maxims hath been ſo clearly demonſtrated, that they cannot fail of being ſoon adopted as a rule to all nations that are in any degree enlightened.

When the Spaniards have once procured a ſufficient number of men, they will then think of employing them in the moſt advantageous manner. The anxiety they felt to ſee the treaſures of America paſs into the hands of their rivals and enemies, made them imagine that the revival of their manufactures was the only method that could enable them to retain part of thoſe treaſures at home. Such of their writers upon finance as have inſiſted upon this ſyſtem, appear to us to be in an error. As long as the people, who are in poſſeſſion of thoſe manufactures which ſerve to ſupply the demands of America, will attend to the preſervation of them, thoſe which may be attempted to be eſtabliſhed in other parts will ſcarce be able to vie with them. Theſe manufacturers may poſſibly procure the materials and workmanſhip at as reaſonable a rate: but ſome centuries muſt paſs before they can be able to attain to the ſame degree of expedition and perfection in the work. Nothing could effect this great change, but ſuch a revolution as would convey the beſt foreign workmen, and the moſt ſkilful artiſts, to Spain. Till this period ſhall arrive, which does not ſeem very near, any attempts that are made will not be ſucceſsful.

We may proceed ſtill further, and venture to affirm, that though it ſhould be in the power of Spain to procure a ſuperiority in the manufactures reſpecting articles of luxury, ſhe ought not to do it. A tranſient ſucceſs would be productive of total ruin. Let us ſuppoſe that Spain can furniſh all the commodities that are wanted in her colonies; the immenſe treaſures this trade will bring in, will all centre in home circulation, and the conſequence will be, that the coin will ſink in value. This plenty of ſpecie will certainly occaſion a dearneſs of proviſions, and enhance the price of labour. There will be no proportion between the price Spain muſt require for her manufactures, and that which the neighbouring nations will ſell theirs for. Theſe, being able to afford their commodities cheaper, will oblige the Spaniards to take them, becauſe an exorbitant profit will ſurmount every obſtacle. The Spaniſh artificers, deſtitute of employment, will be reduced to the neceſſity of ſeeking for it in other places, and Spain will loſe both her induſtry and her population.

Since then it is impoſſible that the Spaniards ſhould keep the whole produce of the American mines in their own hands, and ſince they muſt unavoidably ſhare it with the reſt of Europe, they ſhould exert all their policy to preſerve the greateſt part of it, to make the balance incline in their favour; and in order to render their advantages permanent, they muſt be ſatisfied with ſuch as are moderate. They will ſecure to themſelves this kind of ſuperiority by the practice of the neceſſary arts, and the plenty and goodneſs of their natural productions.

The Spaniſh miniſtry have been ſenſible of this truth, but have been deceived in the opinion they entertained, that the manufactures were the chief promoters of agriculture. It is certain, however, that they contribute to promote the culture of lands. They are even neceſſary, wherever the expence of tranſport puts a ſtop to the circulation and conſumption of the produce, ſo that the cultivator is at a loſs how to diſpoſe of his commodities. But in all other caſes, the farmer can ſucceed without the aſſiſtance of manufactures. If he can but diſpoſe of his produce, he is under no concern, whether it be for local conſumption or for trade and exportation, and will go on with his tillage.

Spain annually ſells for exportation, in wool, ſilk, oil, wine, iron, and kali, to the omount of above eighty millions of livres [3,333,333l. 6s. 8d.]. Theſe exports, moſt of which cannot be replaced from any ſoil in Europe, will admit of immenſe augmentation. They will be ſufficient, independent of what the Spaniards receive from the Indies, to pay for all the foreign goods that can be conſumed in the nation. We grant, that by thus ſending their unwrought produce to other countries, they will increaſe their population, wealth, and power; but they will promote a more certain and more beneficial kind of induſtry at home. Their political influence will ſoon claim a relative ſuperiority, and the nation employed in agriculture will ſoon become greater than that which confines itſelf to manufactures.

America will greatly increaſe theſe advantages; and will be beneficial to Spain, both by her gold and ſilver, and by her commodities.

We have none but vague notions concerning the quantity of metals and of proviſions which the Old World received from the New, in the early periods after the conqueſt. Our knowledge of thoſe points increaſes, in proportion as we draw nearer to modern times. At preſent, Spain receives annually, from the continent of America, 89,095,052 livres [3 712,293l. 16s. 8d.] in gold or in ſilver, and 34,653,902 livres

[1,443,912l. 11s. 8d.], in productions; which makes, in the whole, 123,748,954 livres [5,156,206l. 18s. 4d.]. Taking this calculation for a rule, it will be found that the mother-country hath received from its colonies, in the ſpace of two hundred and eighty-ſeven years, 35,515,949,798 livres [1,479,831,242l. 1s. 6d.].

It muſt be acknowledged, that a leſs quantity of productions was received formerly than is at preſent; but, on the other hand, the mines were more plentiful. If we chooſe to reckon the metals only, Spain will have received no more than 25,570,279,924 livres [1,065,428,330l. 3s. 4d.]; and we ſhall then ſtrike out of the calculation the 9,945,669,874 livres [414,402,911l. 8s. 4d.] of productions.

There would be a poſſibility of increaſing this maſs of metals and productions. For the firſt of theſe objects, it would be ſufficient that the government ſhould ſend over to America ſome perſons ſkilled in metallurgy, and make the conditions eaſier on which they allow the working of the mines. But this would be only a tranſient advantage, ſince it is undeniable that gold and ſilver are not to be conſidered as riches, but only as the repreſentations of them. Theſe ſigns are indeed very durable, as they ought to be, to anſwer their deſtination. But the more they are multiplied, the more they loſe of their value, becauſe they ſerve to repreſent fewer things. In proportion as they are become more common ſince the diſcovery of America, every thing is increaſed in value twice, thrice, and four times beyond what it was before. The produce of the mines hath conſtantly decreaſed, and the expence of working them hath been continually greater. The balance, which inclines more and more to the loſing ſide, may ſo far deſtroy the equipoiſe, that it may be found neceſſary to drop this ſource of wealth. But at all events, it will be adviſable to render theſe operations more ſimple, and to try every poſſible method to make this labour leſs deſtructive to the human race than it hath been hitherto. There is another ſource of proſperity for Spain, which will be ſo far from decreaſing, that it will daily gather new ſtrength; and that is agriculture.

Such is the important end which the court of Madrid muſt endeavour to compaſs. If, by placing the metals in that inferior rank which belongs to them, they reſolve to lay the foundation of the public felicity on the productions that may be derived from a fertile and immenſe territory, the New Hemiſphere will emerge from that ſtate of annihilation in which it was found, and in which it hath been left. The ſun, which hath hitherto ſhone only on uncultivated deſerts, will produce universal fertility.

To the number of productions which its rays, aſſiſted with the labour and ſkill of man, ſhall bring forth there, we ſhall add thoſe which at preſent enrich the iſlands of the New World, the conſumption of which is daily increaſing, and which, after having been for a long time objects of luxury, begin now to be conſidered as articles of indiſpenſable neceſſity.

The aromatics and ſpices of Aſia, which carry from ten to twelve millions of livres [from 416,666l. 13s. 4d. to 500,000l.] annually out of the monarchy, might be made to thrive there; and there is particular reaſon to expect this with regard to the cinnamon. It grows naturally in ſome of the valleys of the Cordeleirias; and by cultivation, perhaps, ſome of the qualities it wants might be imparted to it.

Several of the provinces of Mexico formerly produced excellent ſilks, which were manufactured with ſucceſs in Spain. This ſource of wealth hath been loſt, by the numberleſs obſtructions it hath met with; but it might eaſily be revived and extended.

The Vicuna wool is in great repute among all nations. The quantity they are ſupplied with is nothing in compariſon of the demands for it. The moſt certain method of increaſing this precious wool would probably be, to let the animal that ſupplies it live, after having taken it away from him.

It would be impoſſible to enumerate the productions which regions ſo immenſe, climates ſo various, and ſoils of ſo different a nature, might ſupply. Among ſuch a variety of cultivations, ſome, perhaps, might be found that would ſuit the Indians, others might probably induce ſome of the wandering nations to fix. Theſe aſſociations, diſtributed with ſkill, might alſo ſerve to eſtabliſh communications between colonies that are now ſeparated from each other by immenſe and uninhabited ſpaces. The laws, which always loſe their force among men too far diſtant from each other, and from the magiſtrate, would then be obſerved. Commerce, which is perpetually interrupted by the impoſſibility of conveying the merchandiſe to their deſtination, would then become more animated. In caſe of war, the people would be warned of any approaching danger, and would give each other ſpeedy and effectual ſuccours. It muſt be acknowledged that this new ſyſtem could not be eſtabliſhed without difficulty. Theſe ſalutary views would be thwarted by indolence, by the climate, and by prejudices: but knowledge prudently diſtributed, encouragements well managed, and marks of conſideration properly beſtowed, would overcome, in proceſs of time, all obſtacles. The progreſs of cultivation would be much accelerated, by ſuppreſſing the practice now become general, of thoſe majoraſcos, or perpetual ſucceſſions, which occaſion ſuch a number of idle perſons in the country, and which are productive of ſtill greater miſchief in the colonies. The firſt conquerors, and thoſe who purſued their meaſures, uſurped immenſe diſtricts, or obtained the gift of them. They converted them into an indiviſible inheritance for their children; and the younger ones were thus, in ſome meaſure, devoted to celibacy, to the cloiſter, or to the prieſthood. Theſe enormous poſſeſſions have remained uncultivated, and will ſtill continue ſo, till ſome ſteady and prudent man ſhall take upon him to permit, or to order, the diviſion of them. Then the number of proprietors, which is at preſent ſo much confined, notwithſtanding the great extent of the territories, will be increaſed, and productions will be multiplied with property.

The labours would advance more rapidly, if foreigners were permitted to take a part in them. The Spaniſh Indies were indiſcriminately ſhut againſt them all, even at the period of the diſcovery. The laws formally preſcribed, that the perſons who had penetrated into them, in any manner whatever, ſhould be ſent back into Europe. Philip II. urged by his wants, authoriſed, in 1596, his delegates to naturalize the few that had ſlipped in there, upon condition that they ſhould pay the ſtipulated price for this adoption. This kind of market has been frequently renewed, but rather in favour of artiſts of neceſſary utility to the country, than for merchants, who, it was ſuppoſed, would one day retire with the wealth they had accumulated. The number, however, both of the one and the other, hath always been extremely confined, becauſe it is prohibited to embark any in the mother-country; and that the colonies themſelves, whether from motives of miſtruſt or jealouſy, reject them. The advancement of knowledge gives us reaſon to think that this unſociable ſpirit will have an end. The government will at length underſtand what they have to expect from a healthy and vigorous man, between five-and-twenty and thirty years of age; what miſchief he doth to the country which he quits, and how acceptable he is to the foreign nations, among whom he transfers his ſtrength and his induſtry. They will comprehend how ſtrangely ſtupid it is to make the right of hoſpitality be purchaſed by the man who ſhould come to multiply by his uſeful labours, either the productions of the ſoil, or the works of the manufactures. They will diſcern the deep policy of thoſe people, who ſhould make a point of inviting the inhabitants of neighbouring regions to ſettle in their towns, or in their country-places, or to traverſe their provinces. They will find out what ſort of tribute ſhould be impoſed upon nations who might ſupply them with workmen, with cultivators, and with conſumers; how much the ſpirit of intoleration which baniſhes is fatal; what funds of wealth a nation derives from toleration; and how indifferent a circumſtance it is to the value of commodities, whether they be produced from the labours of orthodox perſons or of heretics, of Spaniards, or of Hollanders. But the greateſt encouragements that could be given to the cultivation of the lands, and all the favours which it would be poſſible to add to them, would be of no effect, without the certainty of an eaſy and advantageous mart for the productions. M. de la Enſenada firſt diſcovered that the exportation of them would be impracticable, as long as the commerce of the New World ſhould be conducted in the manner it had been. Accordingly, notwithſtanding the oppoſition he met with, and notwithſtanding the prejudices he had to combat, he ſubſtituted, in 1740, detached veſſels to the parade ſo anciently eſtabliſhed, and ſo highly revered, of galleons and fleets. He was meditating other changes ſtill more advantageous, when an unexpected diſgrace ſtopped him in the midſt of his brilliant career.

One half of the good which this bold and able miniſter had done was annulled in 1756, by the re-eſtabliſhment of the fleets: but this miſchief was partly repaired eight years after, by the ſetting on foot of the packet-boats, which, from Corunna, were to carry, every month, to the Havannah, the letters deſtined for the northern colonies; and every two months, to Buenos-Ayres, thoſe that were deſtined for the ſouthern colonies. Theſe veſſels, which were of no inconſiderable ſize, were allowed to load at their departure with European merchandiſe, and, at their return, with American commodities.

The exportation of metals was forbidden under capital penalties. This abſurd prohibition was made a jeſt of, becauſe it was neceſſary that foreign commerce ſhould receive the value of the merchandiſe it had furniſhed. Ancient governments, which had for the laws the reſpect they deſerve, would not have failed to abrogate one, the obſervance of which had been ſhown to be chimerical. In our modern times, when empires are rather conducted by the caprices of the governors, than regulated upon reaſonable principles, Spain went no further, in 1748, than to permit the exportation of gold and ſilver, upon condition that a duty of three *per cent.* ſhould be paid to the treaſury. Twenty years after, this tax was increaſed to four *per cent.* although the government was warned by perpetual frauds, that it was their intereſt to lower it.

The year 1774 was the period of another fortunate innovation. Till that time, every kind of intercourſe between the ſeveral parts of the American continent had been rigidly prohibited. Mexico, Guatimala, Peru, and the New Kingdom, were all compelled to be ſtrangers to each other. The action and reaction which would have made them all partake of the advantages nature had diſtributed among them, were conſidered as crimes, and ſeverely puniſhed. But what reaſon can be aſſigned why this proſcription ſhould not have been extended from one town to another, or from one dwelling to a neighbouring one in the ſame diſtrict, from one family to another in the ſame diſtrict? Hath nature traced upon the ſoil, which men inhabit, any line of limitation? How doth it happen, that, under the ſame dominion, a place ſituated at an equal diſtance from two other places, ſhould be allowed a free exerciſe of a privilege towards the Eaſt, which is refuſed to it towards the Weſt? Doth not ſuch an edict, properly interpreted, ſignify, let us forbid every country to cultivate more than is neceſſary for its own conſumption, and every inhabitant from being in want of any thing beſide the productions of his own ſoil? A free communication was at length opened between theſe provinces: and the inhabitants were allowed to think themſelves fellow-citizens, and to treat each other as brethren.

One law, of the month of February 1778, permits all the ports of Spain to diſpatch ſhips to Buenos-Ayres, and to the South Sea. In the month of October of the ſame year, this liberty hath been granted for the reſt of the continent, except for Mexico, which will undoubtedly ſoon enjoy the ſame advantage. This will be a conſiderable ſtep; but it will not be ſufficient, as it is ſuppoſed, to put a ſtop to the ſmuggling trade, which occaſions ſo many clamours.

All the people, whoſe poſſeſſions have been near the Spaniſh ſettlements, have endeavoured to appropriate to themſelves clandeſtinely their treaſures and their commodities. The Portugueſe have turned their views towards the river Plata; the French, the Danes, and the Dutch, towards the coaſt of Caraccas, Carthagena, and Porto Bello. The Engliſh, who knew and frequented theſe roads, have found that the ceſſions made to them by the laſt treaty have opened to them other ways of obtaining a more conſiderable ſhare of theſe rich ſpoils. All theſe nations have ſucceeded in their attempts, by deceiving or bribing the guarda coſtas, and ſometimes by fighting them.

The governors, far from remedying theſe diſorders, encouraged them as much as poſſible. Several of them had purchaſed their poſts; moſt of them were in haſte to get fortunes, and wiſhed to be paid for the dangers they had incurred by the change of climate. There was not a moment to be loſt, becauſe it was ſeldom they were continued in their places more than from three to five years. Among the leaſt dangerous modes they had of acquiring riches, was that of encouraging the contraband trade, or of carrying it on themſelves. No perſon in America exclaimed againſt a conduct which was favourable to all.

If the complaints of ſome European merchants reached the court, they were eaſily ſilenced by proper gratuities to confeſſors, miſtreſſes, or favourites. The delinquent not only ſheltered himſelf from puniſhment, but was alſo rewarded. Nothing was ſo well eſtabliſhed, or ſo generally known, as this practice. A Spaniard juſt returned from America, where he had filled an important poſt, was complaining to a friend of the injurious reports that were ſpread concerning the diſcharge of his truſt. *If you are ſlandered*, ſays his friend, *you are undone; but if your extortions are not exaggerated, you have nothing to do but to* *give up part of your plunder, and you will enjoy the remainder peaceably, and even with credit.*

The fraudulent trade will continue till it hath been made impoſſible to bear the expences of it, or to brave the dangers to which it expoſes; and this can never be done but by lowering the duties with which the Spaniſh ports have been ſucceſſively overburdened. Even ſince the ſacrifices made by government in the regulations of 1778, the contraband trader hath an advantage of ſixty four *per cent.* over the fair dealer.

The revolution which a judicious ſyſtem of policy may bring about will occaſion a deficiency, and a very conſiderable one, in the public treaſury: but the diſtreſs that would reſult from it would be no more than momentary. Immenſe riches would one day be produced from this long expected arrangement of things.

According to the new ſyſtem, Spain, which hitherto hath furniſhed annually no more than one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-one tons of wine and brandy, by which the cultivators had not got one million of livres [41,666l. 13s. 4d.], will now ſend ten or twelve times as much. This exportation would fertilize an uncultivated territory, and would diſguſt Mexico, as well as ſome other provinces of the New World, of the bad liquors they are uſed to conſume, on account of the dearneſs of thoſe that have croſſed the ſeas.

The manufactures, which the impoſſibility of paying for thoſe which came from the Old Hemiſphere hath cauſed to be eſtabliſhed, would not ſupport themſelves. It would have been the higheſt act of tyranny to put them down by authority, as ſome inconſiderate, corrupt, and deſpotic miniſters have not ſcrupled to propoſe; but nothing would be more reaſonable than to bring them into diſrepute with the perſons who now uſe them for clothing, by offering them, at a price ſuitable to their circumſtances, linens and ſtuffs, that would be more agreeable to their taſte or to their vanity. Then the conſumption of European merchandiſe, which doth not exceed annually ſix thouſand ſix hundred and twelve tons, would be doubly increaſed, and in proceſs of time much more.

The hands which are employed in manufacture would be transferred to agriculture, which is at preſent much confined. The ports, however, of all nations are open to their commodities. Several of them might perhaps object, that Spain ſhould make the moſt of her iſlands, becauſe ſuch an improvement would neceſſarily occaſion an evident injury to her colonies; but they are all deſirous that ſhe ſhould bring more of the productions of her continent to market, becauſe moſt of them are neceſſary, and cannot be replaced by others.

This new arrangement of things would be equally favourable to the mines. Thoſe which have been neglected, from their not being able to pay for the mercury and other articles, would be opened again. Thoſe, the working of which hath not been interrupted, would be followed up with more activity, and with greater means. The plenty of metals would open freſh markets to induſtry, which even the ableſt men do not think of.

The Americans, become more rich and more happy, would have more confidence in government. They would readily conſent to pay taxes, the nature and levying of which can only be properly regulated on the ſpot, and from a mature conſideration of the character and cuſtoms of the people. Theſe tributes, however trifling they may be ſuppoſed to be, would do more than fill up the deficiency occaſioned in the public coffers by the leſſening of the duties.

The crown, enjoying a more conſiderable revenue, would no longer abandon their provinces to the rapacioufneſs of their agents. They would leſſen the number of them, pay thoſe they retained in a proper manner, and compel them to reſpect the rights of the people and the intereſts of government. To think it impoſſible that this ſpirit of juſtice ſhould be eſtabliſhed, would argue an ignorance of the reſources of a well managed authority. Campillo ſucceeded in it, during his auſtere miniſtry, although the governors of America at that time had contracted the habit of plunder, and that their appointments were not ſufficient to maintain the dignity which their rank ſeemed to require.

It muſt be acknowledged, that the freedom of trade between all Spain and America, hath been reckoned a chimera. The harbours of this peninſula are, as it has been ſaid, ſo poor, that whatever ſteps may be taken, that of Cadix will remain in the ſole poſſeſſion of this monopoly. This would undoubtedly happen, if the ancient ſyſtem ſhould only be departed from in this point: but, if the new plan be directed by the principles already eſtabliſhed, and already practiſed among commercial nations, it will be found that there are in moſt of the ports of this kingdom funds ſufficient for theſe undertakings. Theſe armaments will even ſoon be multiplied, becauſe the moderate rate of the freight, and of the duties, will allow them to ſend common merchandiſe, and to receive in return commodities of ſmall value. In proceſs of time, the navigation of the mother-country, with its colonies on the continent, which at preſent employs no more than from thirty to thirty-two ſhips every year, would receive ſo great an increaſe, that the boldeſt ſpeculators could not venture to fix the limits of it.

It hath been ſuppoſed, with more foundation, that as ſoon as the ports of America ſhould be open to all the ports of the monarchy, and that no kind of oppreſſion would exiſt in the cuſtoms, trade, when freed from theſe ſhackles, would occaſion unlimited emulation. The avidity and imprudence of the merchants, give reaſon to ſuſpect this confuſion; which might perhaps turn out to advantage. The coloniſts, encouraged by the cheapneſs, to the acquiſition of enjoyments which they had been never able to procure, will have other wants, and conſequently would devote themſelves to other labours. If even the exceſs of the competition would be an evil, it could never be any thing more than a temporary one. To endeavour to prevent this commotion, by laws deſtructive of every good, is to attempt the prevention of a fortunate revolution, by a continual ſyſtem of oppreſſion.

But the objection which had been moſt thought of in the court of Madrid, hath been, it ſeems, that all the European nations would find their trade increaſe by theſe arrangements. This is certainly true. But would not Spaniſh induſtry be equally encouraged, ſince, when freed from the duty which foreign merchandiſe would continue to pay on entering the kingdom, it would preſerve all its advantages? Would not the government ſtill collect the duties they might have thought proper to leave upon theſe productions? Would not their navigators ſtill gain their freight? Would not their merchants be the agents of this commerce? Would not their ſubjects of the New World obtain at a cheaper rate every thing that is conveyed to them? It is, perhaps, a fortunate circumſtance for this power, to be obliged to ſhare with other people the ſupplying of its American poſſeſſions. If it were otherwiſe, the maritime powers would exert their utmoſt efforts to deprive it of them. Whether they would ſucceed or not, is a point which remains to be examined.

Inquiry whether the Spaniſh empire be founded upon a ſolid baſis in the New World.

The Dutch were the firſt people who ventured to turn their arms againſt Peru. They ſent a ſmall ſquadron thither in 1643, which eaſily took Baldivia, the only fortified port of Chili, and the key to thoſe peaceful ſeas. Their navigators already poſſeſſed, in imagination, the treaſures of thoſe rich countries, till their expectations were diſappointed by the appearance of famine and diſeaſe. The death of their favourite chief increaſed their anxiety, and the troops that were ſent againſt them from Callao threw them into total deſpair. The idea of the diſtance they were at from their native country, deprived them of all their courage, and the fear of falling into the hands of a nation whoſe hatred they had ſo often experienced, determined them to reimbark. If their perſeverance had been greater, they would probably have preſerved their conqueſts till the arrival of the ſuccours that would have been ſent from the Zuyder Zee, when their firſt ſucceſs came to be known.

Such was the opinion of thoſe Frenchmen, who, in 1595, united their riches and their efforts to go and plunder Peru, and to form a ſettlement on that part of the coaſt of Chili which had been neglected by the Spaniards. This ſcheme was approved by Lewis XIV. who, to facilitate the execution of it, granted ſix men of war. The ſquadron proceeded very fortunately, under the command of the brave De Gènes, till it got towards the middle of the Straits of Magellan. Succeſs was thought to be near at hand, when the navigators, obſtinately repulſed by contrary winds, and aſſailed with every poſſible calamity, were obliged to return to Europe. Theſe adventurers, ſtill thirſting after riches and dangers, were intending to form a new aſſociation, when the courſe of events united the intereſts of the two crowns.

The Engliſh had turned their attention with avidity towards theſe countries, before other people. They were tempted by the mines as early as the year 1624; but the weakneſs of the prince who then reigned, proved the ruin of a conſiderable aſſociation formed for this great purpoſe. Charles II. reſumed this important project, and ſent Sir John Narborough to reconnoitre thoſe latitudes that were ſo little known, and to endeavour to open ſome communication with the ſavages of Chili. That monarch was ſo impatient to know the ſucceſs of the expedition, that when he was informed of the return of his admiral to the Downs, he got into his barge and went to meet him at Graveſend.

Though this firſt attempt had been of no advantage, the Britiſh miniſtry were not diſcouraged. The elevation of the Duke of Anjou to the throne excited a general ferment. England, which had put itſelf at the head of the confederacy formed to deprive this prince of the throne, was victorious in all parts, but was obliged to purchaſe this glory at a very dear rate.

The nation was groaning under the oppreſſion of taxes, while the treaſury had contracted immenſe engagements. It ſeemed difficult to fulfil them, and at the ſame time to continue the war, when the idea was ſuggeſted of a company which ſhould have the excluſive privilege of trading to the South Seas, upon condition that they ſhould liquidate the national debt. Such was the opinion they entertained of the riches of Peru, and of the great fortunes that might eaſily be made there, that foreigners, as well as the people of the country, were eager to lend their money to this undertaking. The direction of it was given to the Lord High Treaſurer Oxford, the author of the project, and he employed, in the expences of the ſtate, funds that were deſtined for a very different purpoſe.

Then the ſhares of the new company fell into the utmoſt diſrepute; but they ſoon roſe again. At the peace, the court of London obtained from that of Madrid, that the South Sea Company ſhould fulfil its deſtination. The trade of Peru was formally given up to them. They were quietly enriching themſelves, when a bloody war changed the ſituation of affairs. A ſquadron under the command of Anſon was ſent, inſtead of the ſhips of thoſe rapacious merchants which frequented theſe ſeas. It is probable he would have executed the whole of his terrible commiſſion, had he not been prevented by the misfortunes that befel his ſquadron, in being obliged, from ill-concerted meaſures, to double Cape Horn at an improper and dangerous ſeaſon.

Since the laſt peace, the French in 1764, and the Engliſh in 1766, have undertaken to form a ſettlement not far from the coaſt of Patagonia, or in fifty-one degrees thirty minutes of ſouthern latitude, in three iſlands, which the former have called Malouine, and the latter Falkland Iſlands. Spain, alarmed at ſeeing foreign nations in theſe latitudes, eaſily obtained from the court of Verſailles the ſacrifice of their feeble colony: but the warmeſt repreſentations produced no effect upon the court of London, which had not the ſame motives of attention and complaiſance. The miniſtry on both ſides grew warm. Port Egmont, recently occupied, was ſuddenly attacked, and taken without reſiſtance. The two hemiſpheres were again going to be deluged with blood, if the aggreſſors had not at length determined to reſtore a poſt, which they ought not to have ſeized upon, at a time when negotiations were opened to examine into the rights of the two crowns. England hath ſince engaged, by a verbal agreement of the 22d January 1771, to ſuffer this feeble, uſeleſs, and expenſive ſettlement gradually to decay. Accordingly, in the month of May 1774, there remained no more than five-and-twenty men upon it, when it was evacuated, leaving an inſcription to certify to poſterity, that theſe iſlands had belonged, and had not ceaſed to belong, to Great Britain. Theſe navigators, attentive to the dignity of their nation, inſulted, at their departure, the rival power. It is from motives of condeſcenſion, and not of fear, that they are willing to deſiſt from their claims. But when they promiſe eternal duration to their empire, they forget that their grandeur may diſappear as rapidly as it hath riſen. Of all the modern nations, what remains will there be in the annals of the world? The names only of a few illuſtrious perſonages, of a Chriſtopher Columbus, of a Deſcartes, and of a Newton. What a number of petty ſtates, all ridiculouſly aſpiring to the great deſtinies of Rome!

Without the aſſiſtance of this ſtaple, and indeed without any, Anſon thought that the empire of the Spaniards in the Pacific Ocean might be attacked with advantage. According to the plan of this celebrated navigator, twelve men of war, ſent from Europe with three or four thouſand troops, would direct their courſe towards the South Sea. They would procure refreſhments at Bahia, at Rio Janeiro, at St. Catherine's, and throughout all the Brazils, where a ſtrong deſire prevails of humbling the Spaniards. The repairs that might become neceſſary, would be executed with ſafety upon the deſert and uninhabitable coaſt of Patagonia, at Port Deſire, or St. Julian. The ſquadron would double Cape Horn, or would go through the Straits of Magellan, according to the different ſeaſons of the year. If they ſhould chance to ſeparate, they would meet again at the deſert iſland of Socoro, and then attack Baldivia with their united force.

This fortreſs, the only one that covers Chili, being carried by a ſudden and impetuous attack, what ſervice, for the defence of the country, could be expected from enervated and unexperienced citizens, againſt troops inured to diſcipline and military exerciſes? What could they do againſt the Araucos, and other ſavages, always diſpoſed to renew their cruelties and their ravages?

The coaſts of Peru would make ſtill leſs reſiſtance. They are all defended only by Callao, where a bad garriſon of ſix hundred men would ſoon capitulate. The reduction of this famous port would open the way to Lima, which is no more than two leagues off, and incapable of making any defence. The feeble ſuccours that could be ſent to the two cities from the inland parts, where there are no ſoldiers, would not ſave them; and the ſquadron would eaſily intercept any that might come from Panama by ſea. Panama itſelf, which is ſurrounded only by a wall, without a ditch or any outworks, would be obliged to ſurrender. The garriſon, continually weakened by detachments that muſt be ſent to Chagre, to Porto-Bello, and to other poſts, would be unable to repulſe the moſt trifling force.

Anſon was of opinion, that the coaſts being once ſubdued, the reſt of the empire would ſoon be obliged to ſubmit. This idea was founded upon the effeminacy, cowardice, and ignorance of theſe people in the management of arms. According to his informations, a bold enemy would have had nearly as much advantage over the Spaniards, as they themſelves had over the Americans at the period of the diſcovery.

Such were, thirty years ago, the ideas of one of the greateſt ſeamen England ever had. But we may imame that he would not talk in this ſtyle at preſent. The court of Madrid, rouſed by the humiliations and misfortunes of the laſt war, have ſent well-diſciplined troops into Peru, and have intruſted the fortified places to experienced commanders. The ſpirit of the militia is entirely changed in this part of the New World. What, perhaps, was poſſible, is now no more ſo. An invaſion would more particularly become a chimerical idea, if, in that diſtant region, the land forces were ſupported by proportionate maritime ſtrength. We ſhall even venture to affirm, that the junction of theſe two forces would infallibly expel the flag of all other nations from theſe roads.

The operations of the ſquadron ſhould not be limited, either to the fighting of the enemy, or to the keeping of them at a diſtance. The ſhips of which it would conſiſt might be uſefully employed in producing, or in collecting upon theſe coaſts, the articles which either do not grow there, or which are loſt from the difficulty of exportation. Theſe encouragements would probably awaken the coloniſts from the lethargic ſtate in which they have continued for three centuries. When they were aſſured that the produce of their cultures would reach Panama without expence, and would there be embarked upon the Chagre, to be conveyed into Europe, at a very moderate rate, they would feel themſelves inclined to labours, the reward of which would no longer be doubtful. This activity would increaſe, if the court of Madrid would reſolve to dig a canal of five leagues, which would complete the communication between the two ſeas, already ſo much advanced by a navigable river. The general good of nations, and the advantage of commerce, required, that the Iſthmus of Panama and the Iſthmus of Suez ſhould be open to navigation, and ſhould draw the limits of the world nearer to each other. Oriental deſpotiſm, and Spaniſh indolence, have for too long a time deprived the globe of ſo conſiderable a benefit.

If from the South we go on to the North Sea, we ſhall find that the Spaniſh empire is eſtabliſhed there, from the Miſſiſſippi to the Oroonoko. There is throughout this immenſe ſpace, many inacceſſible ſhores, and a ſtill greater number where it would be uſeleſs to land. All the ports that are conſidered as important, ſuch as Vera Cruz, Chagre, Porto-Bello, Carthagena, and Puerto-Cabello, are fortified, and ſome of them are ſo upon good principles. Experience, however, hath ſhown, that none of theſe places are impregnable. They might, therefore, be forced again: but of what ſervice would this ſucceſs be? The conquerors, who would find it impoſſible to penetrate into the inland countries, would be confined in fortreſſes, where an air, which is dangerous in all ſeaſons, and fatal during ſix months of the year, to men who are accuſtomed to a temperate climate, would ſooner or later bring them to the grave.

If even, contrary to all probability, the conqueſt ſhould be completed, can it be imagined that the Spaniſh Americans, who from taſte, idleneſs, ignorance, habit, and pride, have an exceſſive attachment to their religion and to their laws, would not break, at one time or other, the chains that had been impoſed upon them? If, to prevent this revolution, it ſhould be reſolved to exterminate them, this cruel expedient would be as great a folly in politics, as it would be horrible in morality. The nation that had been guilty of this exceſs of barbarity could not reap any advantage from its new poſſeſſions, without ſacrificing to them its population, its activity, its induſtry, and, in proceſs of time, all its power.

Theſe various obſtacles to the invaſion of Spaniſh America, had, as it is ſaid, ſuggeſted in England, during the laſt hoſtilities, the idea of a ſyſtem aſtoniſhing to vulgar minds. The project of this power, which was then miſtreſs of all the ſeas, was to ſeize upon Vera Cruz, and to fortify itſelf there in a very ſtrong manner. It would not have been propoſed to Mexico to ſubmit to a foreign yoke, for which it was known to have too great an averſion; but the plan was to detach that region from the mother-country, to make the arbiter of its own deſtiny, and to leave it at liberty, either to chooſe a ſovereign of its own, or to form itſelf into a republic. As there were no troops in the country, the revolution was infallible; and it would equally have taken place in all the provinces of this vaſt continent, which had the ſame motives for deſiring it, and the ſame facility of carrying it into execution. The efforts of the court of Madrid, to recover its rights, would have been unavailing, becauſe Great Britain took upon herſelf to repel them, upon condition that the new ſtates ſhould grant her an excluſive trade, but upon terms infinitely leſs unfavourable than thoſe by which they had for ſo long a time been oppreſſed.

If it were true that ſuch ideas had ever ſeriouſly engaged the attention of the cabinet of London, they muſt have renounced theſe ambitious views, ſince the court of Madrid have taken the reſolution to keep regular and European forces in their poſſeſſions in the New World. Theſe forces will contain the nations, and repel the enemy, ſtrengthened as they are at preſent with a reſpectable navy.

As ſoon as the Spaniards had diſcovered another hemiſphere, they thought of appropriating to themſelves every part of it. To give ſome eclat to their adminiſtration, the chiefs of the great ſettlements already formed, were continually undertaking new enterpriſes; and private perſons, paſſionately purſuing the ſame kind of fame, generally followed theſe brilliant projects. The calamities inſeparable from a career ſo little known, had not yet altered this active and indefatigable courage, when ſome bold and enterpriſing navigators ventured to direct their courſe towards regions, forbidden to every other nation, except that which had conquered them. The ſucceſs which attended this boldneſs, convinced Philip II. that it was time to ſet bounds to his ambition; and he renounced acquiſitions, which might expoſe his arms or his fleets to inſults. This timid, or perhaps only prudent policy, was attended with more important conſequences than had been foreſeen. The ſpirit of enthuſiaſm was at an end, and that of inactivity ſucceeded to it. A new race of men was formed in the Indies. The people ſank into ſuperb effeminacy, and thoſe who governed them no longer attended to any thing but the accumulation of riches; and the dignities that accompanied them, which had formerly been reſerved to talents, to zeal, and to ſervices, were now purchaſed. At this period a ſtop was put to navigation, both in America and in Europe.

A few veſſels only, ill built, ill armed, ill fitted out, and ill commanded, were diſpatched from the ports of the mother-country. Spain could not be awakened from its lethargy, either from the terrible blows which it received from its enemies, or with the ruinous extortions it experienced from its allies.

At length, after two centuries of total inactivity, the docks are again revived. The Spaniſh navy hath acquired real ſtrength. It conſiſts, at the time of our writing, of ſixty-eight ſhips of the line, carrying from one hundred and fourteen to ſixty guns, and five of theſe are upon the ſtocks; and of eighty other ſhips, carrying from fifty-ſix to twelve guns. There are fifty thouſand ſeamen upon its liſts, a great number of whom ſerve in the armaments fitted out by government. Many of them are alſo employed in the merchantmen of Biſcay, of Majorca, and of Catalonia. Some are wanted for about a hundred ſmall veſſels, regularly deſtined for the American iſlands, where ſo few were formerly ſent. They will multiply ſtill more, when the voyages to the continent of the other Hemiſphere ſhall be undertaken with all the freedom which the firſt regulations ſeem to announce. The ſeas, which ſeparate the two Worlds, will be covered with robuſt, active, and intelligent men, who will become the defenders of their country's rights, and will render her fleets formidable.

Spaniſh monarchs, ye are intruſted with the happineſs of the moſt brilliant parts of the two Hemiſpheres. Show yourſelves worthy of ſo glorious a deſtiny. In fulfilling this auguſt and ſacred duty, ye will repair injuries done by your predeceſſors and by their ſubjects. They have depopulated a world which they had diſcovered; they have put millions of mankind to death. Their conduct hath been ſtill more atrocious, not only in enſlaving them, but alſo in reducing thoſe whom their ſword hath ſpared to the condition of brutes. Thoſe whom they have ſlain, have ſuffered only for an inſtant, while the wretches whom they have permitted to live, muſt have often envied the fate of their murdered brethren. Poſterity will not forgive you, till harveſts ſhall ariſe in thoſe fields which you have manured with ſo much innocent blood; and till thoſe immenſe ſpaces which you have laid waſte ſhall be covered with happy and free inhabitants. If ye would know the period in which you may perhaps be abſolved of all your crimes, it will be when you ſhall revive, in idea, ſome one of the ancient monarchs of Mexico and Peru, and placing him in the midſt of his poſſeſſions, ſhall be able to ſay to him, BEHOLD THE PRESENT STATE OF YOUR COUNTRY, AND OF YOUR SUBJECTS; INTERROGATE THEM, AND FORM YOUR JUDGMENT OF US.

BOOK IX.

Settlement of the Portugueſe in the Brazils. The Wars they have ſuſtained there. Produce and Riches of that Country.

BOOK IX.

Whether the Europeans have been well acquainted with the art of founding colonies.

A NATIONAL ſpirit is the reſult of a great number of cauſes, ſome of which are permanent, and others variable. This part of the hiſtory of a people is perhaps the moſt intereſting, and the leaſt difficult to inveſtigate. The permanent cauſes are to be found on the portion of the globe which they inhabit; the variable ones are conſigned in their annals, and manifeſted by the effects which they have produced. While theſe cauſes act in oppoſition to each other, the nation is in a ſtate of inſanity, and doth not begin to recover its proper underſtanding, till the time when its ſpeculative principles coincide with the nature of its ſituation. Then it is, that it advances rapidly towards that ſplendour, opulence, and felicity, to which it may be allowed to aſpire, from a free uſe of its local reſources.

But this national ſpirit, which ought to preſide in the counſels of the people, though it be not always to be found there, ſcarce ever regulates the actions of individuals. They have intereſts of their own, and paſſions which torment and blind them; and there is ſcarce any one who would not raiſe his proſperity upon the public ruin. The capitals of empires are the centre of the national ſpirit, that is to ſay, the places where it diſplays itſelf with the greateſt energy in words, and where it is the moſt completely neglected in actions. I except only ſome unfrequent inſtances, where the general ſafety is at ſtake. In proportion as the diſtance from the capital increaſes, this maſk detaches itſelf; it falls off on the frontiers; and, between one hemiſphere and another, is totally loſt.

When a man hath croſſed the line, he is neither an Engliſhman, a Dutchman, a Frenchman, a Spaniard, or a Portugueſe. He preſerves nothing of his country, except the principles and prejudices which give a ſanction to his conduct, or furniſh him with an excuſe for it. Servile when he is weak, and oppreſſive when he is ſtrong; eager to acquire wealth, and to enjoy it; and capable of all the enormities which can contribute moſt ſpeedily to the completion of his deſigns; he is a domeſtic tiger again let looſe in the woods, and who is again ſeized with the thirſt of blood. Such have all the Europeans indiſcriminately ſhown themſelves in the regions of the New World, where they have been actuated with one common rage, the paſſion for gold.

Would it not have been a more humane, more uſeful, and leſs expenſive plan, to have ſent into each of thoſe diſtant regions ſome hundreds of young men and women? The men would have married the women, and the women the men of the country. Conſanguiy, the tie that is the moſt ſpeedily formed, and the ſtrongeſt, would ſoon have made one and the ſame family of the ſtrangers and of the natives.

In this intimate connection, the ſavage inhabitant would ſoon have underſtood that the arts and ſciences conveyed into his country were very conducive to the improvement of his deſtiny. He would have entertained the higheſt opinion of the perſuaſive and mild inſtructors brought to him by the ſea, and he would have given himſelf up to them without reſerve.

From this fortunate confidence peace would have ariſen, which would have been impracticable, if the new comers had preſented themſelves with the imperious and authoritative tone of maſters and uſurpers. Commerce is eſtabliſhed without difficulty among men who have reciprocal wants; and they ſoon accuſtom themſelves to conſider as friends and as brethren thoſe whom intereſt or other motives have brought into their country. The Indians would have adopted the European form of worſhip, becauſe a religion becomes univerſal among all the inhabitants of an empire, when the government leaves it to itſelf, and when the folly and intolerant ſpirit of the prieſts doth not convert it into a principle of diſcord. In like manner, civilization follows from the propenſity which urges every man to improve his ſituation, provided there be no deſire to compel him to it by force, and that theſe advantages be not preſented to him by ſuſpicious ſtrangers.

Such would be the effects that would be produced in a riſing colony by the allurement of the moſt imperious of the ſenſes. Let there be no arms and no ſoldiers; but a multitude of young women for the men, and numbers of young men for the women. Let us examine what the Portugueſe have done in Brazil by purſuing contrary methods.

When, and by whom, Brazil was diſcovered.

Brazil is an immenſe continent, bounded on the north by the river of the Amazons, on the ſouth by the river Plata, on the eaſt by the ſea, and on the weſt by moraſſes, lakes, torrents, rivers, and mountai which ſeparate it from the Spaniſh poſſeſſions.

If Columbus had continued his courſe to the ſouth, when he came to the entrance of the Oroonoko in 1499, he could not poſſibly have miſſed the Brazils; but he choſe to ſteer to the north-weſt, that he might not go too far from St. Domingo, the only ſettlement belonging to the Spaniards in the New World.

Peter Alvarez Cabral had the honour of diſcovering the Brazils the following year by a fortunate chance.

How doth it happen that this is the caſe in almoſt all diſcoveries; and that chance hath always more ſhare in them than ingenuity? It is becauſe chance is ever employed, while the human underſtanding is checked by indolence, changes its objects through inconſtancy, repoſes itſelf through laſſitude or tedium, and is thrown into a ſtate of inactivity by a number of moral, natural, domeſtic, or national cauſes. Moſt diſcoveries are therefore owing to chance, or to that infinite number of men, who are always in motion, and whoſe attention is conſtantly engaged on all the objects that ſurround, or ſtrike them, oftentimes without any deſign of gaining information, or of making thoſe diſcoveries, but merely becauſe they make uſe of their ſenſes.

To avoid falling in with the calms on the coaſt of Africa, Cabral kept ſo far out at ſea, that he came within ſight of an unknown land lying to weſtward. He was driven thither by ſtreſs of weather, and anchored on the coaſt in the 15th degree of ſouth latitude, at a place which he called Porto-Seguro. He took poſſeſſion of the country, but made no ſettlement in it, and gave it the name of Santa Cruz, which was afterwards changed for that of Brazil, becauſe the Brazil wood was the moſt valuable production of that country to the Europeans, who uſed it in dyeing.

As this country had been diſcovered in going to India, and as it was doubtful whether it was not a part of that country, the ſame name was given to it, be-uſe the Spaniards had imagined that it might be referred to thoſe countries they had previouſly diſcovered. All the Europeans, however, diſtinguiſhed them by the appellation of Weſt Indies. This name was afterwards extended to all the New World, and the Americans were very improperly called Indians.

Thus it is that the names of places and things, accidentally given by ignorant men, have always perplexed philoſophers, who have been deſirous of tracing the origin of theſe names from nature, and not from circumſtances merely incidental, and oftentimes quite foreign to the natural properties of the things denoted by them. Nothing can be more ſtrange, for inſtance, than to ſee Europe tranſplanted into America, and there regenerated, as it were, in the names and forms of our European cities, and in the laws, manners, and religion of our continent. But ſooner or later the climate will reſume its influence, and reinſtate things in their proper order, and with their original names, though with thoſe veſtiges of the change they have undergone, which a great revolution always leaves behind it. Is it not probable, that, in three or four thouſand years hence, the hiſtory of America at this preſent period will be as confuſed, and as inexplicable to its inhabitants, as the hiſtory of Europe, previous to the riſe of the Roman republic, is obſcure to us? Thus it is that men, the knowledge they have acquired, and the conjectures they have formed, either with reſpect to events that are paſſed, or to future tranſactions, are all ſubject to the laws and motions of nature, which purſues her own courſe, without paying the leaſt regard either to our projects or to our opinions.

Account of the firſt inhabitants conveyed by Portugal into the Brazils.

Nothing can afford us a more convincing proof of this great truth, than the imprudence and uncertainty of all the deſigns and actions of men even in their moſt important undertakings, the blindneſs with which their inquiries are purſued, and more eſpecially the improper uſe they make of their diſcoveries. As ſoon as the court of Liſbon had ordered a ſurvey to be taken of the harbours, bays, rivers, and coaſts of

Brazil, and was convinced that the country afford neither gold nor ſilver, they held it in ſuch contempt, that they ſent thither none but condemned criminals and abandoned women.

Two ſhips were ſent every year from Portugal, to carry the refuſe of the kingdom to this New World, and to bring home parrots, and woods for the dyers and cabinetmakers. Ginger was afterwards added, but was ſoon prohibited, leſt it ſhould interfere with the ſale of the ſame article from India.

Aſia was then the object that attracted all men. I was the road to fortune, to power, and to fame. The great exploits of the Portugueſe in India, and the wealth they brought from thence, gave their nation ſuch a ſuperiority in all parts of the world, that every individual wiſhed to partake of it. The enthuſiaſm was general. No perſon, indeed, went over voluntarily to America; but thoſe unfortunate men, whom the inquiſition had doomed to deſtruction, were added to the convicts already tranſported thither.

There never was a ſtronger and more inveterate hatred than that which the Portugueſe have always entertained againſt the Spaniards. Notwithſtanding this national antipathy, which is of ſo long a ſtanding that its origin cannot be traced, and ſo confirmed that it can never be expected to ceaſe, they have borrowed moſt of their maxims from a neighbour, whoſe power they dreaded as much as they deteſted its manners. Whether from a ſimilarity of climate and temper, or from a conformity of circumſtances, they have adopted the worſt of its inſtitutions, they could not imitate any one more horrid than the inquiſition.

This bloody tribunal, erected in Spain in 1482, by a combination of policy and fanaticiſm, under the reign of Ferdinand and Iſabella, was no ſooner adopted by John III. than it ſtruck terror into every family. To eſtabliſh its authority, and afterwards to ſupport it, no leſs than four or five hundred victims were annually ſacrificed, a tenth part of which was burnt alive, and the reſt baniſhed to Africa or to the Bra-

The fury of this tribunal was particularly exerted againſt thoſe who were ſuſpected of ſodomy; a crime of later date in the kingdom, and almoſt unavoidable in hot climates, where celibacy prevails. It alſo proſecuted ſorcerers, who, in thoſe times of ignorance, were as much dreaded as their number was multiplied, by the credulity, bigotry, and barbariſm that prevailed all over Europe. The Mohammedans, though greatly decreaſed ſince they had loſt the empire, were alſo perſecuted by the inquiſition; but more eſpecially the Jews, becauſe they were the richeſt.

It is well known, that when the Jews, who had long been confined to a very ſmall ſpot upon the face of the earth, were diſperſed by the Romans, many of them took refuge in Portugal. There they multiplied after the Arabs had conquered Spain, were ſuffered to enjoy all the rights of citizens, and were not excluded from public offices, till that country had recovered its independence. This firſt act of oppreſſion did not prevent twenty thouſand Jewiſh families from removing thither, when, after the conqueſt of Granada, the Catholic kings compelled them to quit Spain, or to change their religion. Each family paid twenty livres [16s. 8d.] for the liberty of ſettling in Portugal. Superſtition ſoon induced John II. to aggravate the ſufferings of that perſecuted nation: He demanded of them 20,000 crowns [2500l.], and afterwards reduced them to a ſtate of ſlavery. In 1496, Emanuel baniſhed all thoſe who refuſed to embrace the Chriſtian religion; thoſe who complied were reſtored to their freedom, and ſoon engroſſed the Aſiatic trade, which then began to be laid open to every one. The eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition, in 1548, proved a check to their activity. Their miſtruſt was increaſed by the frequent confiſcations made by that odious tribunal, and by the taxes which government extorted from them at different times. They were in hopes of purchaſing ſome tranquillity, by furniſhing Sebaſtian with 250,000 livres [10,427l. 13s. 4d.] for his African expedition; but, unfortunately for them, that imprudent monarch came to an untimely end. Philip who ſoon after extended his dominion over Portugal, enacted, that ſuch of his ſubjects as were deſcended from a Jew or a Moor, ſhould be excluded from all eccleſiaſtical or civil employments. This mark of infamy, with which all the new converts to Chriſtianity were branded, gave them ſuch a diſguſt for a country, where even the greateſt opulence could not exempt them from being ſtigmatized, that they removed, with their wealth, to Bourdeaux, Antwerp, Hamburgh, and other towns, with which they had regular connections. This emigration was the occaſion of a great revolution; it diverted the commerce, which till then had centered in Spain and Portugal, into other countries, and deprived thoſe two nations of the advantages the one derived from the Eaſt, and the other from the Weſt Indies.

Before theſe laſt periods, the Jews, who were unremittingly perſecuted by the inquiſition, were baniſhed in numbers to the Brazils. Though deprived of their fortunes by theſe inſatiable leeches, they ſucceeded in eſtabliſhing ſome cultures. This fortunate beginning convinced the court of Liſbon that a colony might be ſerviceable to the mother-country by other means than by metals. They began, as early as the year 1525, to caſt a leſs diſdainful look on this immenſe poſſeſſion, which chance had beſtowed upon them, and which had till then been conſidered as the ſink into which all the filth of the monarchy was poured.

Brazil divided between ſeveral noblemen by the court of Liſbon.

The nation ſoon adopted the opinion of the miniſtry, and the noblemen eſpecially were firſt animated with this new ſpirit. Government granted, ſucceſſively, to thoſe among them who aſked for it, a ſpace of forty or fifty leagues upon the coaſt, with an unlimited extent in the interior parts of the country. They were authoriſed by their charter to treat the vanquiſhed people in whatever manner they choſe. They had a right, which moſt of them exerciſed, to diſpoſe of the territory they had invaded, in favour of any Portugueſe who would cultivate it; but they diſpoſed of it only three lives, reſerving alſo to themſelves ſome rent-charges. Theſe great proprietors were to enjoy all the rights of ſovereignty, except that of condemning to death, coining, and the tithes; prerogatives which the court kept in their hands. Theſe uſeful and honourable fiefs could only be forfeited by the neglecting to cultivate and defend them, by the deficiency of male iſſue, or by the commiſſion of ſome capital crime.

Thoſe who had ſolicited and obtained theſe provinces, expected to acquire the poſſeſſion of them without much expence, and without expoſing their lieutenants to any great danger. Their hopes were chiefly founded upon the indolence of the ſmall nations they were to conquer.

Character and cuſtoms of the people whom the Portugueſe wiſhed to ſubdue.

Man is undoubtedly formed for ſociety; his wants and his weakneſſes require it. But ſocieties of twenty or thirty millions of men, cities conſiſting of four or five hundred thouſand ſouls, are ſo many monſtrous productions, which are ſo far from being formed by nature, that ſhe, on the contrary, is inceſſantly ſtudying to deſtroy them. They are only ſupported by conſtant foreſight, and by moſt extraordinary efforts. They would ſoon be diſſipated, if a conſiderable portion of this multitude did not attend to their preſervation. The air is infected by them, the waters are corrupted; the land exhauſted to a great extent; the duration of life is ſhortened among them; the ſweets of plenty are but little felt, and the horrors of dearth are extreme. They are the ſpot which gives birth to epidemic diſeaſes; they are the haunts of crimes, of vices, and of diſſolute manners. Theſe enormous and fatal heaps of men are likewiſe one of the ſcourges of ſovereignty, ſince cupidity invites around the throne, and perpetually increaſes the herd of ſlaves, under an infinite variety of functions and denominations. Theſe unnatural aſſemblages of population, are ſubject to ferment and to corrupt during peace; and if war ſhould increaſe the ferment, the ſhock becomes dreadful.

Societies, in a ſtate of nature, are little numerous; they ſubſiſt of themſelves. They ſeparate before a ſuperabundance of population becomes troubleſom Each diviſion removes to convenient diſtances. Such was the primitive ſtate of the New Countries; ſuch is that of the New Continent.

The Brazilians in general were of the ſize of the Europeans, but not ſo ſtout. They were ſubject to fewer diſtempers, and were long-lived. They wore no clothing; the women wore their hair extremely long, the men cut theirs ſhort; the women wore bracelets of bones of a beautiful white, the men necklaces of the ſame; the women painted their faces, and the men their bodies.

Every colony of this vaſt continent had its own idioms, but not one of them had any words to convey general and abſtract ideas. This poverty of language, which is common to all nations of South America, is a convincing proof of the little progreſs the human underſtanding had made in theſe countries. The analogy between the words in the ſeveral languages of this continent ſhows, that the reciprocal tranſmigrations of theſe ſavages had been frequent.

The food of the Brazilians was very ſimple. In a country deprived of domeſtic animals, they lived upon ſhell-fiſh by the ſea ſide; along the rivers, by fiſhing; and in the foreſts, by hunting. When theſe precarious proviſions failed, they fed upon the caſſava and other roots.

Theſe men were very fond of dancing. Their ſongs were but one tedious uniform tone, without any modulations, and commonly turned upon their loves or their warlike exploits.

In poliſhed ſtates, dancing and ſinging are reckoned among the arts. In the midſt of the foreſts they are almoſt the natural expreſſions of concord and friendſhip, of tenderneſs and pleaſure. We are obliged to have maſters to inſtruct us to diſplay our voices, and to move gracefully. The ſavage hath no other inſtructor but his paſſion, his heart and nature. He really feels what we affect to feel. Accordingly, the ſavage who ſings and dances is always happy.

Their amuſements are not interrupted by the worſhip of a Supreme Being, for they know of none; nor is their tranquillity diſturbed by the dread of a future ſtate, of which they have no idea. They have, however, their magicians, who, by ſtrange contortions, ſo far work upon the credulity of the people as to throw them into violent convulſions. If the impoſtures of theſe magicians are detected, they are immediately put to death, which ſerves, in ſome degree, to check the ſpirit of deceit.

Theſe atheiſts are equally ſtrangers to all notions of ſubordination and ſubmiſſion, which among ourſelves are originally derived from the idea of a Supreme Being. They cannot conceive that any perſon can have the audacity to command, much leſs that any one can be ſo weak as to obey. But they ſhow moſt deference to the man who has killed the greateſt number of his enemies.

The Brazilians, like moſt other ſavages, ſhowed no particular attachment to their native place. The love of our country, which is a ruling paſſion in civilized ſtates; which in good governments riſes to enthuſiaſm, and in bad ones grows habitual; which for ſeveral centuries together perpetuates in every nation its diſpoſition, cuſtoms, and taſte: this love of our country is but a factitious ſentiment ariſing from ſociety, but unknown in the ſtate of nature. The moral life of a ſavage is the very reverſe of that of the civilized man. The latter enjoys the gifts of nature only in his infancy. As his ſtrength increaſes and his underſtanding unfolds itſelf, he loſes ſight of the preſent, and is wholly intent upon the future. Thus the age of paſſions and pleaſures, the time deſtined by nature for enjoyment, is ſpent in ſpeculation and diſappointment. The heart denies itſelf what it wiſhes for, laments the indulgences it has allowed itſelf, and is equally tormented by its ſelf-denials and its gratifications. The civilized man, inceſſantly deploring his liberty which he hath always ſacrificed, looks back with regret on his earlieſt years, when a ſucceſſion of new objects conſtantly awakened his curioſity, and kept his hopes alive. He recollects with pleaſure the ſpot where he paſſed his infant days; the remembrance of his innocent delights endears them to his imagination, and forcibly attracts him to his native ſpot; whereas the ſavage, who enjoys all the pleaſures and advantages peculiar to every period of his life, and does not abſtain from them in expectation of greater indulgence in old age, finds equally, in all places, objects ſuited to his deſires, and feels that the ſource of his pleaſures is in himſelf, and that his country is every where.

Though the tranquillity of the Brazilians was not the reſult of any laws, diſſenſions were ſeldom heard of in their little ſocieties. If drunkenneſs, or ſome unfortunate incident, occaſioned a diſpute, and ſome life was loſt, the murderer was inſtantly delivered up to the relations of the deceaſed, who immediately ſacrificed him to their vengeance without heſitation; then both the families met, and their reconciliation was ſealed by a joyous and noiſy feaſt.

Every Brazilian took as many wives as he choſe, or as many as he could get, and put them away when he grew tired of them. When they violated their marriage vow, they were puniſhed, according to a cuſtom almoſt generally adopted, with death, and the huſband did not become an object of ridicule on account of the injury his wife had done him. When the women laid in, they kept their bed but a day or two; then the mother, hanging the child to her neck in a cotton ſcarf, returned to her uſual occupations without any kind of inconvenience.

In general, the conſequences of child-birth among the ſavages, are not ſo bad as they are among the women of civilized countries, becauſe the firſt always ſuckle their children, and becauſe the indolence of the men condemns them to a laborious life, which occaſions the menſtrual flux in them to be leſs plentiful, and renders the channels, through which this ſuperfluous blood is to flow, ſo much the more narrow. A long reſt after child-birth, far from being neceſſary, would become as fatal to them, as it would be among us to our women of the lower claſs. This is not the only circumſtance in which we find a compenſation for the advantages of the ſeveral ranks of life. We feel the want of exerciſe, and go into the country in ſearch of health. Our women begin to deſerve the name of mothers, by ſuckling their own children; the children too are juſt reſcued from the ſhackles of ſwaddling clothes. What can theſe innovations be attributed to, but to the conſciouſneſs that man cannot deviate imprudently from the laws of nature, without injury to his own happineſs? In all future ages, the ſavages will advance by ſlow degrees towards the civilized ſtate; and civilized nations will return towards their primitive ſtate; from whence the philoſopher will conclude, that there exiſts in the interval between theſe two ſtates, a certain medium, in which the felicity of the human ſpecies is placed. But who is it that can find out this medium? and even if it were found, what authority would be capable of directing the ſteps of man to it, and to fix him there?

Travellers were received with diſtinguiſhed marks of civility in the Brazils. Wherever they came, they were ſurrounded with women, who waſhed their feet, and welcomed them with the moſt obliging expreſſions. Nothing was ſpared for their entertainment; but it would have been an unpardonable affront, had they left the family where they were firſt entertained, in hopes of better accommodation in another. This ſpirit of hoſpitality is one of the moſt certain indications that man was intended for ſociety.

Hoſpitality, the offspring of natural commiſeration, was univerſally practiſed in the earlieſt times. It was almoſt the only thing that attached nations to each other: it was the ſource of the moſt ancient, the moſt laſting, and the moſt reſpected friendſhip, contracted between families who were ſeparated by immenſe regions. A man, perſecuted by his fellow-citizens, or guilty of any miſdemeanour, retired to diſtant countries in queſt of tranquillity or impunity. He preſents ed himſelf at the entrance of a town, or of a village, and ſaid; "I am ſuch a one, the ſon of ſuch a one, or "the grandſon of ſuch a one, and I come for ſuch "reaſons." And then he related his ſtory, or his invented tale, in the manner the moſt marvellous, the moſt pathetic, and the beſt calculated to give an idea of his conſequence. He was eagerly attended to; and he added, "Receive me; for, if you or your children, "or your children's children, ſhould ever be driven "by any misfortunes to my country, they need only "name me, and my friends will receive them." He was immediately entreated to become their gueſt, and the perſons with whom he preferred to live thought themſelves honoured by this diſtinction. He took up his abode in their houſe, and was treated by them like one of the family; ſometimes he became the huſband, the raviſher, or the ſeducer of his hoſt's daughter.

To ſuch adventurers as theſe, who were, perhaps, the firſt travellers, the origin of the demigods of paganiſm, the offspring of hoſpitality and licentiouſneſs, may be aſcribed. Moſt of them owed their birth to paſſengers, to whom a bed had been given, and who were never ſeen afterwards.

Let us be allowed to ſay, that there is no occupation in the world ſo immoral as that of a traveller. The traveller by profeſſion is like a man who is in poſſeſſion of an immenſe houſe; and who, inſtead of ſitting down with his wife, and in the midſt of his children, ſhould employ all his life in ranging about from one apartment to another. Tyranny, guilt, ambition, curioſity, a kind of reſtleſs ſpirit, the deſire of acquiring knowledge, and of ſeeing things, tedium, and the diſguſt ariſing from exhauſted felicity, have driven, and will at all times drive, men from their country.

But, in ages previous to civilization, to commerce, and to the invention of ſigns to repreſent riches, before intereſt had prepared a habitation for the traveller, hoſpitality ſupplied its place. The favourable reception of a ſtranger was conſidered as a ſacred debt, which was often repaid after the lapſe of ſeveral centuries, by the deſcendants of the perſon who had been the object of it; and who, upon his return into his own country, took a delight in repeating the favours he had received, the remembrance of which was conſtantly preſerved in his family.

Theſe affecting inſtances of humanity have decreaſed, in proportion as the intercouſe between nations hath been facilitated. Induſtrious, rapacious, and intereſted men have formed, in all parts, ſettlements, where the traveller alights, where he commands, and where he diſpoſes of all the conveniences of life, as if he were at home. The maſter, or the landlord, of the houſe, is neither his benefactor, his brother, nor his friend; he is only his upper ſervant. The gold that he ſpends at his houſe entitles him to treat his hoſt as he chooſes; he cares not for your reſpect, but for your money. When you quit his houſe, he thinks no more of you; nor do you recollect him, any farther than as you have been either diſpleaſed or ſatisfied with him. Hoſpitality, that ſacred virtue which is extinguiſhed amongſt all nations where civilization and ſocial inſtitutions have made any progreſs, is no longer found but among the ſavages, and more particularly in the Brazils than in any other country.

Far from ſhowing that indifference or weakneſs which makes us ſhun the dead, and makes us unwilling to ſpeak of them, or to remain in the places that might recal their image to our minds, the Brazilians beheld their dead with tender emotions, recounted their exploits with complacency, and celebrated their virtues with tranſport. They were buried upright in a round grave; and if the deceaſed was the head of a family, his plumes, his necklaces, and his arms, were interred with him. When a clan removed to another place, which often happened, merely for the ſake of changing, every family fixed ſome remarkable ſtones over the graves of their moſt reſpectable relations; and they never approached thoſe monuments of grief, without breaking out into dreadful outcries, not unlike the ſhouts with which they made the air reſound when they were going to battle.

Motives of intereſt or ambition never prompted the Brazilians to war. The deſire of avenging their relations or friends was always the occaſion of their moſt ſanguinary conteſts. Their chiefs, or rather their orators, were old men, who determined the commencement of hoſtilities, gave the ſignal for marching, and exerted themſelves during the march, in repeated expreſſions of implacable hatred. Sometimes even the march of the army was ſuſpended, to liſten to theſe paſſionate harangues, that laſted for many hours. This cuſtom makes thoſe long ſpeeches we meet with in Homer, and in the Roman hiſtorians, appear more probable; but in thoſe days the noiſe of the artillery did not drown the voices of the generals.

The combatants were armed with a club of ebony, ſix feet long, one foot broad, and an inch thick. Their bows and arrows were of the ſame wood. Their inſtruments of martial muſic were flutes made of the bones of their enemies. They were as well calculated to inſpire courage as our drums, which ſtifle our ſenſe of danger, and as our trumpets, which give the ſignal, and perhaps the fear, of death. Their generals were the ſoldiers who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt in former wars.

The firſt attack was never made openly, but both armies endeavoured to take the advantage of a ſurpriſal. Their courage ſeldom conſiſted in maintaining their ground. The ambition of the Brazilians was to make a great many priſoners, which were ſlain and eaten with ſolemnity. During the feaſt, the old men exhorted the young to become intrepid warriors, that they might often procure themſelves ſuch an honourable repaſt. This inclination for human fleſh was never ſo prevalent as to induce the Brazilians to devour ſuch of their enemies as had fallen in battle: they only ate thoſe who had been taken alive.

The treatment of priſoners of war hath varied according to the degree of perfection human reaſon hath gradually attained. The moſt civilized nations ranſom them, exchange or reſtore them at the concluſion of a war. Nations that are not yet completely civilized claim them as their property, and make them ſlaves. The common ſavages maſſacre them, without putting them to torture. The moſt ſavage people of all torture, kill, and eat them. This is their execrable law of nations.

This anthropophagy hath long been conſidered as a chimera in the opinion of ſome ſceptical perſons. They could not conceive, that any nation could have been reduced to the cruel neceſſity of feeding upon their fellow-creatures, to ſatisfy their own wants; and ſtill leſs could they ſuppoſe, that any thing, except an abſolute privation of every ſupport of life, could have induced man to commit ſo atrocious a deed. Since the doubts of the moſt incredulous have been removed by a great number of facts, by teſtimonies of higher authority, and by more authentic accounts, ſome philoſophers have attempted to juſtify this practice of ſeveral ſavage nations. They have ſtill exclaimed with vehemence againſt the barbarity of the ſovereigns who, to ſatisfy their own caprice, ſent their unfortunate ſubjects to the ſlaughter-houſe of war. But they have imagined, that it was a matter of indifference, whether their carcaſes were devoured by men or by birds.

Perhaps, indeed, this cuſtom hath not in itſelf any thing criminal, any thing that is repugnant to morality: but how pernicious would be the conſequences ariſing from it? When man is once authoriſed to eat the fleſh of man, if the taſte of it ſhould ſuit his palate, nothing will remain, but to make the ſtream of blood grateful to the noſtrils of the tyrant. Let us then form an idea of theſe two phenomena, generally prevailing on the face of the globe, and let us fix our eyes upon the human ſpecies, if we can poſſibly bear the ſight.

In the Brazils, the heads of the enemies ſlain in action, or ſacrificed after the engagement, were very carefully preſerved, and ſhown with oſtentation to all ſtrangers, as monuments of valour and victory. The heroes of thoſe ſavage nations bore their exploits imprinted on their limbs, by inciſions which enſured them reſpect. The more they were disfigured, the greater was their glory.

Aſcendant of the miſſionaries over the natives of Brazil, and over the Portugueſe, at the firſt exiſtence of the colony.

Such manners had not diſpoſed the Brazilians to ſubmit patiently to the yoke that was intended to be impoſed upon them: but what could the ſavages oppoſe to the arms and diſcipline of Europe? A conſiderable number of them had ſubmitted, when, in 1549, the court of Liſbon thought proper to ſend over a governor, to regulate an eſtabliſhment which till then had been left to the fury and the caprices of a ſet of banditti. Thomas de Souſa, indeed, by building San Salvador, gave a centre to the colony; but the honour of reſtoring it to any kind of tranquillity was reſerved to the Jeſuits who attended him. Thoſe intrepid men, who have always been prompted by motives of religion, or of ambition, to undertake great actions, diſperſed themſelves among the Indians. Such of theſe miſſionaries as were murdered from hatred to the Portugueſe name, were immediately replaced by others, who were inſpired with none but ſentiments of peace and charity. This magnanimity confounded the barbarians, who had never had any idea of forgiveneſs. By degrees they began to place ſome confidence in men who ſeemed to ſeek them only with a view of making them happy. Their attachment to the miſſionaries grew into a paſſionate fondneſs. When a Jeſuit was expected in one of their nations, the young people flocked to meet him, concealing themſelves in the woods along the road. As he drew near, they ſallied forth, played upon their pipes, beat their drums, danced, and made the air reſound with joyful ſongs; and, in a word, omitted nothing that could expreſs their ſatisfaction. At the entrance of the village, the old men and chief inhabitants were aſſembled, who expreſſed as much joy, but with more ſedateneſs. A little further on, ſtood the women and young girls, in a reſpectful poſture ſuitable to their ſex. Then they all joined, and conducted their father in triumph to the place where they were aſſembled. There he inſtructed them in the fundamental doctrines of religion; exhorted them to a regularity of manners, to a love of juſtice, to brotherly charity, and to an abhorrence for human blood; after which he baptized them.

As theſe miſſionaries were too few in number to tranſact all the buſineſs themſelves, they frequently deputed ſome of the moſt intelligent Indians in their ſtead. Theſe men, proud of ſo glorious an office, diſtributed hatchets, knives, and looking-glaſſes among the ſavages they met with, and repreſented the Portugueſe as a harmleſs, humane, and good ſort of people. They never returned from their excurſions without bringing with them ſome of the Brazilians, who followed them from motives of curioſity. When thoſe ſavages had once ſeen the Jeſuits, it was with difficulty that they ever quitted them. When they returned home, it was to invite their families and friends to come and ſhare their happineſs, and to diſplay the preſents they had received.

If any one ſhould doubt theſe happy effects of kindneſs and humanity over ſavage nations, let him only compare the progreſs the Jeſuits have made, in a very ſhort time, in South America, with what the forces and navy of Spain and Portugal have not been able to effect in the ſpace of two centuries. While multitudes of ſoldiers were employed in changing two great and civilized empires into deſerts inhabited by roving ſavages, a few miſſionaries have changed little wandering clans into ſeveral great and civilized nations. If theſe active and courageous men had been leſs infected with the ſpirit of the church of Rome; if, when formed into a ſociety in the moſt intriguing and corrupt court in Europe, they had not inſinuated themſelves into other courts, to influence all political events; if they had not diſguſted, by their ſpirit of intoleration, all moderate perſons, and all the tribunals by their paſſion for deſpotiſm; if an outrageous zeal for religion had not made them the ſecret enemies to the progreſs of knowledge, and the perſecutors of philoſophy; if they had employed as much art in making themſelves beloved, as they did in making themſelves feared; if they had been as jealous of increaſing the ſplendour of their ſociety, as of augmenting its power; if the chiefs of the order had not made an ill uſe of the very virtues of their members; the Old and New World would ſtill have reaped the advantage of the occupations of a ſet of men, who might have been made uſeful, had they been prevented from being neceſſary; and the eighteenth century would not have had cauſe to be aſhamed of the enormities that have attended the ſuppreſſion of the ſociety. The whole univerſe would continue to be fertilized by their labours, and by their undertakings.

The Brazilians had too much cauſe of hatred againſt the Europeans, not to miſtruſt their kindneſs; but their diffidence was in ſome meaſure removed by a ſignal act of juſtice.

The Portugueſe had formed the ſettlement of St. Vincent on the ſea-coaſt, in the 24th degree of ſouth latitude. There they traded peaceably with the Cariges, the mildeſt and moſt civilized nation in all the Brazils. The advantages they reaped from this connection could not reſtrain them from ſeizing upon ſeventy men to make ſlaves of them. The perſon who had committed the offence was condemned to carry the priſoners back to the place from whence he had taken them, and to make the proper excuſes for ſo heinous an inſult. Two Jeſuits, who were appointed to diſpoſe the Indians to accept this ſatisfaction, which would never have been offered but at their deſire, gave notice of it to Farancaha, the moſt reſpectable man of his nation. He came out to meet them, and, embracing them with tears of joy; "Fathers," ſaid he, "we "conſent to forget all that is paſt, and to enter into a "freſh alliance with the Portugueſe; but let them for "the future be more moderate, and more obſervant "of the rights of nations. Our attachment entitles us at leaſt to equitable proceedings. We are called barbarians, yet we reſpect juſtice and our friends." The miſſionaries having engaged that for the future their nation ſhould more religiouſly obſerve the laws of peace and unity, Farancaha proceeded thus: "If you doubt the faith of the Cariges, I will give you proof of it. I have a nephew, for whom I have a great affection; he is the hope of my family, and the comfort of his mother; ſhe would die with grief if ſhe were to loſe her ſon. Yet I will deliver him to you as a hoſtage. Take him along with you; cultivate his young mind; take care of his education; and inſtruct him in your religion. Let his manners be gentle and pure. I hope, when you return, you will inſtruct me alſo, and enlighten my mind." Many of the Cariges followed his example, and ſent their children to St. Vincent's for education. The Jeſuits were too artful not to take great advantage of this event; but it does not appear that they ever had any intention to deceive the Indians by inculcating ſubmiſſion. Avarice had not yet poſſeſſed the minds of theſe miſſionaries; and the intereſt they had at court ſecured ſufficient reſpect in the colony to make the ſituation of their converts a fortunate one.

This time of tranquillity was improved. For ſome years paſt, ſugar plants had been tranſplanted from Madeira to Brazil, where the climate and the ſoil were found favourable to this rich produce. The culture of it was at firſt very inconſiderable; but no ſooner was the ſtrength of the Negroes ſubſtituted to the languid labours of the Indians, towards the year 1570, than it received an increaſe. This progreſs was growing daily more conſiderable, becauſe this production, which had been hitherto only of uſe in medicine, became more and more an article of luxury.

Irruption of the French into the Brazils.

This proſperity, which was viſible in all the markets of Europe, excited the cupidity of the French. They attempted to form three or four ſettlements at Brazil. Their levity would not ſuffer them to wait the uſually

BOOK IX. ſlow progreſs of new undertakings; and merely from inconſtancy and impatience, they gave up proſpects that were ſufficient to have encouraged any, except ſuch volatile minds, that are as eaſily diſcouraged as they are ready to undertake. The only valuable monument we have of their fruitleſs incurſions is a dialogue, which more particularly ſhows the natural good ſenſe of the ſavages, as it is written with that ſimplicity of ſtyle which diſtinguiſhed the French language two hundred years ago; a ſimplicity in which there were graces we cannot ſtill but regret.

"The Brazilians," ſays Lery, one of the interlocutors, "being very much aſtoniſhed to ſee the French "take ſuch pains to get their wood, one of their old "men once aſked me this queſtion: What can be the "reaſon that you Frenchmen come ſo far to get wood "for firing? Is there none in your own country? To "which I anſwered, Yes, and a great deal too, but "not ſuch as theirs, which we did not burn, as he "thought; but as they themſelves uſed it to dye "their ſtrings and their feathers, our people employ"ed it alſo in dyeing. He replied, Well; but do "you want ſo great a quantity? Yes, ſaid I; for in "our country there are ſome merchants who have "more rugs and ſcarlet cloths than you ever ſaw in "this country; one of theſe will buy ſeveral cargoes "of this wood. Ha, ha! ſays the ſavage, thou telleſt "me wonders. Then pauſing upon what I had been "telling him, he ſaid, But this very rich man thou "talkeſt of, is he never to die? Yes, yes, ſaid I, as "well as others. Upon which, as they are great talk"ers, he aſked me again, So then, when he is dead, to "whom does all the wealth he leaves belong? It goes, "ſaid I, to his children, or, if he hath none, to his "brothers, ſiſters, or next of kin. Truly, ſays the old "man, now I ſee that you Frenchmen are great fools; "for, muſt you work ſo hard, and croſs the ſea, to "heap riches for them that come after you, as if the "earth that had fed you was not ſufficient to feed "them likewiſe? We have children and relations "whom we love, as thou ſeeſt; but as we are ſure "that, after our death, the earth that hath provided "for our ſubſiſtence will equally provide for theirs, "we are ſatisfied."

Conqueſts of the Dutch in the Brazils.

This mode of reaſoning, ſo natural to ſavages, whom nature hath exempted from ambition, but ſo foreign to civilized nations, who have experienced all the ill effects of luxury and avarice, made no great impreſſion on the French. They could not withſtand the temptation of riches, which all the maritime nations in Europe thirſted after at that time. The Dutch, who were become republicans by chance, and merchants from neceſſity, were more perſevering and more ſucceſsful than the French in their attempts on the Brazils. The nation they had to contend with was not more conſiderable than their own, and, in imitation of them, was preparing to ſhake off the yoke of Spain, though they ſtill ſubmitted to that of a regal government.

All hiſtorical accounts are full of the acts of tyranny and cruelty that excited the Low-Countries to riſe againſt Philip II. The richeſt provinces were retained, or brought back under the yoke of a tyrannical government, while the pooreſt, that were in a manner ſunk under water, found means, by more than human exertions, to ſecure their independence. When their liberty was firmly eſtabliſhed, they attacked their enemy upon the remoteſt ſeas, on the Indus, on the Ganges, and as far as the Moluccas, which made a part of the Spaniſh dominions, ſince Portugal had been included in them. The truce of 1609 gave time to that enterpriſing and fortunate republic to bring her new projects to maturity. Theſe deſigns were manifeſted in 1621, by the eſtabliſhment of a Weſt India Company, from which the ſame ſucceſs was expected in Africa and America, that were both compriſed in the charter, as the Eaſt India Company had experienced in Aſia. The operations of the new ſociety began by the attack of Brazil.

Precautions had been taken to procure the neceſſary informations. Some Dutch ſhips had ventured thither, in defiance of the law that prohibited the admittance of any ſtrangers. As they greatly underſold, according to the cuſtom of their country, the commodities that came from Spain, they met with a favourable reception. At their return, the contraband traders reported, that the country was in a kind of anarchy; that foreign dominion had ſtifled in the people the love of their country; that ſelf-intereſt had corrupted their minds; that the ſoldiers were turned merchants; that they had forgotten the firſt principles of war, and that whoever ſhould appear there with a competent force, would infallibly ſurmount the trifling obſtacles that might be oppoſed to the conqueſt of that wealthy region.

The Company committed this undertaking to Jacob Willekins, in 1624. He went directly to the capital. San Salvador ſurrendered at ſight of the Dutch fleet; and the reſt of the province, although it was the moſt extenſive and moſt populous of the colony, made little more reſiſtance.

This was a terrible misfortune, but it did not give any pain to the Spaniſh council. Since that crown had ſubdued Portugal, they did not find the people as ſubmiſſive as they wiſhed them to be. A diſaſter which might render them more dependent, appeared to be a great advantage; and their miniſters congratulated themſelves, upon having at length found an opportunity of aggravating the yoke of their deſpotiſm.

Philip, without entertaining more equitable ideas, or more elevated ſentiments, thought that the majeſty of the throne required of him ſome outward appearance of decency. Accordingly, he wrote to the Portugueſe of the firſt rank, exhorting them to make ſuch generous efforts as the preſent exigencies required. This they were already inclined to. Self-intereſt, patriotiſm, the deſire of throwing a damp upon the joy of their tyrants; all concurred to quicken their alacrity. The monied men laviſhed their treaſures; others raiſed troops; all were eager to enter into the ſervice. In three months time twenty-ſix ſhips were fitted out, which ſailed in the beginning of the year 1626, in company with thoſe from Spain, which the tardineſs and policy of that nation had made them wait for much too long.

The archbiſhop of San Salvador, Michael de Texeira, had prepared matters ſo as to facilitate their ſucceſs. That martial prelate, at the head of 1500 men, had at firſt ſtopped the progreſs of the enemy. He had inſulted, haraſſed, beaten, driven, encloſed, and blocked them up in the town. The Dutch, reduced by hunger, fatigue, and want, compelled the governor to ſurrender to the troops which the fleet had landed on their arrival, and they were all carried to Europe.

The ſucceſs of the Company by ſea, made them amends for this loſs. Whenever their ſhips came into port they were victorious, and loaded with the ſpoils of the Spaniards and Portugueſe. They were ſo proſperous as to give umbrage even to the powers moſt intereſted in the welfare of Holland. The ocean was covered with their fleets. Their admirals endeavoured, by uſeful exploits, to preſerve their confidence. The ſubaltern officers aſpired to promotion, by ſeconding the valour and ſkill of their commanders. The ſoldiers and ſailors fought with unparalleled ardour, and nothing could diſcourage thoſe reſolute and intrepid men. The fatigues of the ſea, ſickneſs, and repeated engagements, all ſeemed to inure them to war, and to increaſe their emulation. The Company encouraged this uſeful ſpirit, by frequently diſtributing rewards. Excluſive of their pay, the ſailors were allowed to carry on a private trade, which was a great encouragement, and procured a conſtant ſupply of men. By this wiſe regulation, their intereſt was ſo immediately connected with that of their employers, that they wiſhed to be always in action. They never ſtruck to the enemy, nor ever failed to attack their ſhips with that degree of ſkill, intrepidity, and perſeverance which muſt enſure victory. In the courſe of thirteen years, the Company fitted out eight hundred ſhips, which coſt ninety millions [3,750,000l.]. They took five hundred and forty-five of the enemy's ſhips, which, with the goods on board, ſold for 180,000,000 livres [7,500,000l.]. The dividend was never below twenty *per cent.* and often roſe to fifty. This proſperity, which was entirely owing to the war, enabled the Company to make a ſecond attack upon the Brazils.

Their admiral, Henry Lonk, arrived in the beginning of the year 1630, with forty-ſix men of war, on the coaſt of Fernambucca, one of the largeſt provinces in thoſe parts, and the beſt fortified. He reduced it after ſeveral obſtinate engagements, in which he was always victorious. The troops he left behind ſubdued the neighbouring countries in the years 1633, 1634, and 1635. This was the moſt cultivated part of Brazil, and conſequently that which afforded moſt commodities.

The Company were ſo elated with the acquiſition of this wealth, which flowed to Amſterdam inſtead of Liſbon, that they determined upon the conqueſt of all the Brazils, and intruſted Maurice of Naſſau with the conduct of that enterpriſe. That general reached the place of his deſtination in the beginning of the year 1637. He found the ſoldiers ſo well diſciplined, the commanders ſuch experienced men, and ſo much readineſs in all to engage, that he directly took the field. He was ſucceſſively oppoſed by Albuquerque, Banjola, Lewis Rocca de Borgia, and the Brazilian Cameron, the idol of his people, paſſionately fond of the Portugueſe, brave, active, cunning, and who wanted no qualification neceſſary for a general, but to have learned the art of war under able commanders. Theſe ſeveral chiefs exerted their utmoſt efforts to defend the poſſeſſions that were under their protection; but their endeavours proved ineffectual. The Dutch completed the conqueſt of all the coaſt extending from San Salvador to the Amazon.

Complaints of a Portugueſe preacher.

It was in theſe circumſtances that an eloquent Jeſuit, named Anthony Vieira, pronounced in one of the churches of Bahia, the moſt vehement and moſt extraordinary diſcourſe that hath perhaps ever been heard in a Chriſtian pulpit. The ſingularity of this ſermon will probably plead my excuſe for the long extract I am going to give of it.

upon the ſucceſs of a heretic nation.

Vieira took for his text that part of the Pſalms, where the prophet, addreſſing himſelf to God, exclaims, "Awake, O Lord; wherefore haſt thou ſlept? Wherefore haſt thou turned thy countenance from us? Wherefore haſt thou forgotten our miſery and our tribulation? Awake, and come to our ſuccour. Think on the glory of thy name, and ſave us."

"It is in theſe words, full of pious firmneſs and of religious boldneſs; it is thus," ſaith the orator, "that the king prophet, proteſting rather than praying, addreſſeth himſelf to God. The times and circumſtances are the ſame; and I may alſo venture to ſay, Awake, wherefore haſt thou ſlept?"

Vieira repeated his text; and, after having ſhown the conformity between the misfortunes of the Iſraelites and the Portugueſe, he adds, "It is not, therefore, to the people that my diſcourſe this day ſhall be addreſſed. My voice and my words ſhall be employed upon a higher theme. I aſpire, at this inſtant, to penetrate even into the breaſt of the Divinity. This is the laſt day of the fortnight which is deſtined, in all the churches of the mother-country, to prayer before the ſacred altars; and, ſince this day is the laſt, it is proper to have recourſe to the ſole and laſt remedy. The preachers of the goſpel have in vain endeavoured to lead you to repentance. Since ye have been deaf, ſince they have not converted you, it is thou, O Lord, whom I will convert; and although we are the ſinners, it is thou who ſhalt repent.

"When the children of Iſrael had committed the crime in the deſert, in worſhipping the golden calf, thou didſt reveal their fault to Moſes, and thou didſt add, in thy wrath, that thou wouldſt annihilate thoſe ungrateful people. Moſes ſaid unto thee, Why doth thy wrath wax hot againſt thy people? Before thou puniſheſt, conſider what is proper for thee to do. Shall the Egyptians accuſe thee of having taken them out of ſlavery for miſchief, and to ſlay them in the mountains? Reflect on the glory of thy name.

“Such was the reaſoning made uſe of by Moſes, and ſuch ſhall be mine. Thou didſt repent thee of the deſign which thou hadſt formed. Thou art ſtill the ſame; and my arguments are ſtronger than thoſe of the Jewiſh legiſlator. They will have the ſame effect upon thee; and, if thou haſt taken the reſolution to deſtroy us, thou wilt repent of it. Thou canſt not be ignorant that the heretic, inflated with the ſucceſs which thou haſt given him, hath already ſaid, that it is to the falſity of our worſhip he owes thy protection and his victories. And what doſt thou think the Gentiles that ſurround us, the Talapouin, who is yet unacquainted with thee, the inconſtant Indian, and the ignorant and ſtupid Egyptian, but juſt waſhed with the waters of baptiſm, will think of this? Are the people capable of ſearching into, and of adoring the depth of thy judgments? Ariſe, therefore, and, if thou haſt any care of thy glory, ſuffer not that arguments againſt our faith ſhould be drawn from our defeats. Awake, and let the ſtorms which have diſperſed our fleets diſperſe thoſe of our common enemy. Let the peſtilence, and the diſeaſes which have waſted our armies, bring deſtruction among theirs; and, ſince the councils of men are fruſtrated at thy pleaſure, let darkneſs and confuſion prevail in theirs.

“Joſhua was more holy and more patient than we are; yet his language was not different from mine, and the circumſtance was much leſs important. He croſſed the Jordan, he attacked the city of Ai, and his troops were diſperſed. His loſs was moderate, and yet behold him rending his clothes, falling upon the earth, giving way to the moſt bitter complaints, and exclaiming, *Wherefore haſt thou brought us over Jordan to deliver us into the hands of the Ammonites?* And I, when the intereſt of an immenſe people, and in a vaſt extent of country, are concerned, ſhall I not exclaim, Haſt thou given us theſe regions merely to deprive us of them again? If thou didſt deſign them for the Dutch, why didſt thou not invite them while they were yet uncultivated? Has the heretic rendered thee ſuch great ſervices, and are we ſo vile in thine eyes, that thou ſhouldſt have drawn us from our country merely to clear their lands for them, to build their cities, and to enrich them with our labours? Is this the indemnity which thou haſt fixed upon in thine heart, for ſo many men ſlaughtered upon the earth, or loſt in the waters? Yet, if it be thy will, it muſt be ſo. But I perceive that thoſe whom thou rejecteſt, and whom thou doſt oppreſs to-day, thou wilt ſearch for in vain to-morrow.

"Job, when cruſhed with misfortunes, expoſtulated with thee. Thou doſt not expect that we ſhould be more inſenſible than he was. He ſaid to thee, *Since thou haſt reſolved upon my deſtruction, complete thy work; kill me, and annihilate me: but thou ſhalt ſeek me in the morning, and I ſhall not be. Thou ſhalt find Sabeans, Chaldeans, and blaſphemers of thy name; but Job, thy faithful ſervant, who worſhippeth thee, will no more be found.*

"I will ſay to thee, O Lord, with Job, burn, deſtroy, and conſume us all: but one day, but in the morning, thou ſhalt ſeek for Portugueſe, and thou ſhalt ſeek in vain. Will Holland furniſh thee, at thy call, with apoſtolic conquerors, who, at the riſk of their lives, will convey over the face of the whole globe the ſtandard of the croſs? Will Holland eſtabliſh a ſeminary of apoſtolic preachers, who will be ready, for the intereſt of thy faith, to ſpill their blood in barbarous regions? Will Holland raiſe temples that are agreeable to thee? Will it conſtruct altars upon which thou wilt deſcend? Will it conſecrate true miniſters to thee? Will it offer up to thee the great ſacrifice? Will it worſhip thee in a manner worthy of thee? Yes—the worſhip thou wilt receive

" from her will be the ſame as that which ſhe practiſ-
" eth daily at Amſterdam, at Middlebourg, at Fleſſing,
" and in the other diſtricts of thoſe damp and cold in-
" fernal regions.

" I know well, O Lord, that the propagation of thy
" faith, and the intereſts of thy glory, do not depend
" upon us; and that if there were no men, thy power
" animating the ſtones might raiſe up children to
" Abraham. But I alſo know, that, ſince the time of
" Adam, thou haſt not created any mortals of a new
" ſpecies; that thou doſt make uſe of thoſe that exiſt;
" and that thou doſt admit in thy deſigns thoſe that
" are leſs good, only in default of the better. Wit-
" neſs the parable of the feaſt, *Bring in the blind and
" the lame.* Such is the proceeding of Providence;
" and wilt thou reverſe it at preſent? We have been
" invited, and we have not refuſed to come to the
" feaſt, and yet thou doſt prefer to us the blind and
" the lame, Lutherans and Calviniſts, blind in the
" faith, and lame in their works!

" If we be ſo unfortunate, as that the Dutch ſhould
" make themſelves maſters of Brazil, the circumſtance
" that I will repreſent to thee, with all humility, but
" with great earneſtneſs, is, that thou wouldſt conſider
" well before the execution of thy decree. Weigh
" with attention what may be the conſequence of it;
" and reflect while there is ſtill time for it. If thou
" art to repent, it is better that thou ſhouldſt do it at
" preſent, than when the evil ſhall be without remedy.
" Thou perceiveſt the ſcope of my argument, and the
" reaſons, deduced from thine own conduct, for the
" remonſtrance I make to thee. Before the time of
" the deluge, thou wert alſo much incenſed againſt
" mankind. In vain did Noah addreſs his prayers to
" thee during a century. Thou didſt perſiſt in thine
" anger; and the cataracts of the heavens were at
" length burſt, and the waters roſe above the ſummits
" of the mountains. The whole earth was overflown,
" and thy juſtice was ſatisfied. But three days after
" this, when the bodies floated upon the waters, when

"thine eyes beheld the multitude of livid carcaſes, when the ſurface of the ſea preſented to thee the moſt melancholy and the moſt hideous ſight that had ever afflicted the angelic choir, what was the conſequence? affected with the ſight, as if thou hadſt not foreſeen it, thy bowels were moved with anguiſh. Thou didſt repent of having made the world. Thou didſt regret the paſt, and didſt take reſolutions for the future. Since ſuch is thy diſpoſition, why doſt thou not ſpare thyſelf in ſparing us? Why doſt thou perſiſt in thy preſent wrath, if it be afterwards to excite thy murmurs, and if thy mercy is to be affected by the decrees of thy juſtice? Reflect upon it before thou doſt begin, and conſider the conſequences of the new deluge thou haſt deſigned to produce. Let me be allowed to repreſent them to thee.

"Let us ſuppoſe Bahia, and the reſt of Brazil, are become the prey of the Dutch. Behold them entering into the city with the fury of conquerors, and with the rage of heretics. Behold that neither age nor ſex are ſpared. Behold the blood ſtreaming on all ſides. Behold the guilty, the innocent, the women and the children, all put to the ſword, and maſſacred one upon another. Behold the tears of the virgins, who weep for the injury they have ſuffered. Behold the old men dragged by their hair. Liſten to the mixed cries of the monks and of the prieſts, who embrace thine altars, and who lift up their hands unto thee. Even thou thyſelf, O Lord! wilt not eſcape their violence. Yes—thou wilt partake of it. The heretics will force the gates of thy temples. The hoſt, which is thine own proper body, will be trampled under foot. The vaſes that have been filled with thy blood, will ſerve for rioting and drunkenneſs. Thine altars will be thrown down. Thy images will be torn to pieces. Sacrilegious hands will be laid upon thy mother.

"That theſe inſults ſhould be offered to thee, and that thou ſhouldſt ſuffer them, is not a matter of aſtoniſhment to me, ſince thou haſt formerly ſuffered others ſtill more cruel: but thy mother! O! where is filial piety? Didſt thou not deprive Hoſea of life, for having touched the ark? Didſt thou not wither the arm that Jeroboam had raiſed againſt a prophet; and yet the heretics have thouſands of arms for more atrocious deeds? Thou didſt dethrone, and didſt cauſe Balſhazzar to die, for having drunk out of ſacred veſſels, although thy blood had not been conſecrated in them; and yet thou doſt ſpare the heretic, and there are not two fingers and a thumb to trace upon the wall the ſentence of their death.

“In a word, O Lord, when thy temples are ſpoiled, thine altars demoliſhed, thy religion extinct in Brazil, and thy worſhip annihilated; when the graſs ſhall grow upon the avenues to thy churches, Chriſtmas-day ſhall come round, and no one ſhall recollect the day of thy birth. Lent and the holy week ſhall come round, and yet the myſteries of thy paſſion ſhall not be celebrated. The ſtones of our ſtreets ſhall cry out, as the ſtones did in the ſolitary ſtreets of Jeruſalem. There will be no more prieſts, no more ſacrifices, no more ſacraments. Hereſy will ariſe in the pulpit of truth; and the children of the Portugueſe will be tainted with falſe doctrines. The children of my audience will be aſked, *Little boys, what is your religion?* and they will anſwer, *We are Calviniſts. And you, little girls, what is yours?* and they will anſwer, *We are Lutherans.* Then thou wilt be moved with compaſſion, and repent: but if thy repentance be to be awakened, why doſt thou not prevent it?

“But tell me, what glory canſt thou find in deſtroying a nation, and in cauſing it to be ſupplanted by another? This is a power thou didſt formerly intruſt to a mean inhabitant of Anatho. In puniſhing us, thou doſt triumph over the weak; in pardoning us, thou doſt triumph over thyſelf. Be merciful for thine own glory, and for the honour of thy

“ name. Let not thy wrath be prolonged for ever, nor even for one day. Thou wilt not ſuffer that the ſun ſhould ſet upon our anger; and yet how often hath it not riſen, how often hath it not ſet upon thine?” Doſt thou require from us a moderation thou doſt not poſſeſs? Doſt thou give us the precept without the example?

“ Forgive us, O Lord! and put an end to our miſfortunes. Holy Virgin, intercede for us; entreat thy Son; lay thy commands upon him. If he be angered with our offences, tell him that he muſt forgive them, as it is enjoined us by his law to forgive thoſe who have offended us.”

We know not whether the Lord liſtened to this apoſtrophe of the orator Vieira; but a little while after the conqueſt, the Dutch were interrupted by a revolution which all nations wiſhed for, and which none had foreſeen.

The Portugueſe had never enjoyed happy times ſince they had ſubmitted to the Spaniſh yoke in 1581. Philip II. an avaricious, cruel, deſpotic, deſigning, and falſe prince, had endeavoured to vilify them, but concealed his intentions under honourable pretences. His ſon, who too cloſely followed his maxims, and thought it better to reign over a ruined nation than to be indebted to the good will of the people for their ſubmiſſion, had ſuffered them to be deprived of a multitude of conqueſts, which had proved a ſource of riches, power, and glory to them, and which they had acquired by much effuſion of blood. The ſucceſſor of that weak prince, who had ſtill leſs underſtanding than his father, openly and contemptuouſly attacked their adminiſtration, their privileges, their manners, and all that they were moſt attached to. At the inſtigation of Olivarez, he wanted to provoke them to revolt, that he might acquire the right of plundering them.

Theſe repeated outrages united all the Portugueſe, whom Spain had been labouring to divide. A conſpiracy, that had been forming for three years, with incredible ſecrecy, broke out on the third of December 1640. Philip IV. was ignominiouſly baniſhed, and the duke of Braganza was placed on the throne of his anceſtors. The example of the capital was followed by the whole kingdom, and by all that remained of the ſettlements formed in happier times in Aſia, Africa, and America. No blood was ſhed on this great revolution, except that of Michael Vaſconcellos, the baſe and vile inſtrument of tyranny.

The new king united his intereſts and his reſentments with thoſe of the Engliſh, the French, and all the enemies of Spain. On the 23d of June 1641, he in particular concluded an offenſive and defenſive alliance with the United Provinces for Europe, and a ten years truce for the Eaſt and Weſt Indies. Naſſau was immediately recalled with moſt of the troops, and the government of the Dutch poſſeſſions in Brazil was given to Hamel, a merchant of Amſterdam; to Baſſis, a goldſmith of Haarlem; and to Bulleſtraat, a carpenter of Middleburgh. The deciſion of all affairs was to be referred to this council; and theſe were now ſuppoſed to be confined to the carrying on of a great and advantageous trade.

A conſiderable obſtacle fruſtrated their hopes. The lands belonged to the Portugueſe, who had remained under the government of the republic. Some of them had never acquired ſufficient means to form rich plantations; and others had loſt their fortunes by the calamities which are inſeparable from war. As ſoon as this inability was known in Europe, the monied men in the United Provinces haſtened to ſend the funds neceſſary for the carrying on of all the labours which it was poſſible to undertake. The face of affairs was ſoon changed in thoſe regions, every thing ſeemed animated with new life; but edifices too magnificent were erected, an infinite number of ſlaves periſhed by a contagious diſorder; and exceſſive luxury was generally prevailing. Theſe faults and miſfortunes diſabled the debtors from fulfilling their engagements. In order not to loſe all their credit, they were imprudent enough to borrow money at three and four *per* *cent. per* month. This abſurd conduct ſoon rendered them inſolvent; and the priſons were filled with unfortunate or guilty perſons. The Company were obliged to take the debts upon themſelves, in order to preſerve this beautiful ſettlement from total ruin; but they required that the cultivators ſhould give up the entire price of their productions, till all the debts ſhould be liquidated.

Before this arrangement, the agents for the monopoly had ſuffered the fortifications to fall into ruin; they had ſold the arms and the ammunition; they had permitted every ſoldier who was deſirous of it, to return to the mother-country. This conduct had annihilated the public ſtrength, and had induced the Portugueſe to hope that they might throw off a foreign yoke. The ſtipulation, which deprived them of all the comforts of life to which they were accuſtomed, determined them to haſten the revolution.

The boldeſt of them united, in 1645, to take their revenge; their deſign was, to maſſacre all the Dutch who had any ſhare in the government, at an entertainment in the midſt of the capital of Fernambucca, and then to attack the people, who, ſuſpecting no danger, would be unprepared. The plot was diſcovered; but the conſpirators had time to get out of town, and retire to a place of ſafety.

Their chief was a Portugueſe of obſcure birth, named Juan Fernandez de Viera. From a common ſervant he had riſen to be an agent, and afterwards a merchant. His abilities had enabled him to acquire a large fortune; his probity had gained him univerſal confidence; and his generoſity had made him an infinite number of friends, who were inviolably attached to his intereſt. He was not diſcouraged by the diſappointment he had juſt met with; but he ventured, without the conſent or ſupport of government, to commence hoſtilities.

His name, his virtues, and his projects, aſſembled the Brazilians, the Portugueſe ſoldiers, and even the coloniſts, about him. He inſpired them with his confidence, his activity, and his courage. They attended him in battle, crowded about his perſon, and were determined to conquer or to die with him. He triumphed, but did not allow himſelf to ſlumber over his victories, or give the enemy time to recover. Some checks he met with in the courſe of his ſucceſſes only ſerved to diſplay the firmneſs of his ſoul, the extent of his genius, and the elevation of his mind. He aſſumed a threatening aſpect even after a misfortune, and appeared ſtill more formidable by his perſeverance than by his intrepidity. He ſpread ſuch terror among his enemies, that they dared no longer keep the field. At this period of his glory, Viera received orders not to proceed.

Since the truce, the Dutch had ſeized upon ſome places in Africa and Aſia, which they obſtinately refuſed to reſtore. The court of Liſbon, intent upon matters of greater importance, had not been able to do themſelves juſtice; but their preſent inability had not leſſened their reſentment. In this diſpoſition, they had rejoiced to ſee the republic attacked in Brazil; and had even clandeſtinely encouraged thoſe who had begun the hoſtilities. As they conſtantly diſavowed theſe proceedings, and declared, both in Europe and America, that they would one day puniſh the authors of the diſturbances, the Company imagined they would ſoon ſubſide; but their avarice, which had been too long amuſed with falſe and frivolous proteſtations, was at length rouſed. John IV. being informed that conſiderable armaments were preparing in Holland, and fearing to be drawn into a war which he wiſhed to avoid, exerted himſelf in earneſt to put an end to the hoſtilities in the Brazils.

Viera, who had no reſource for the completion of his deſigns, but in his fortune, his intereſt, and his abilities, did not even deliberate whether he ſhould obey. “If the king,” ſaid he, “were but informed “of our zeal and our ſucceſs, and acquainted with “his own intereſt, far from diſarming us, he would “encourage us to purſue our undertaking, and would

“ ſupport us with all his power.” Then, leſt the ardour of his companions ſhould abate, he determined to haſten his operations; and they continued to be crowned with ſuch ſucceſs, that, with the aſſiſtance of Baretto, Vidal, and ſome other Portugueſe, who were able and willing to ſerve their country, he completed the ruin of the Dutch. The few of theſe republicans who eſcaped the ſword and famine evacuated Brazil, in conſequence of a capitulation ſigned the 28th of January 1654.

What changes are produced in the opinions of men! Theſe events ſeem no more to us, and are, in fact, no more than the conſequences of ſome political, moral, or natural cauſes; and the orator Vieira appears no more to us than an elegant enthuſiaſt. But let us carry our imaginations back to the times of the Hebrews, when they had ſeminaries of inſpired men; to thoſe of the Greeks, when people reſorted to Delphos from all parts of the world; to thoſe of the Romans, who never dared to undertake any conſiderable enterpriſe, without having previouſly conſulted the entrails of the victims, and the ſacred fowls; and to the times of our anceſtors, at the period of the cruſades: let us imagine a prophet, a witch, an augur, or a St. Bernard, in the room of Vieira, and the revolution in the Brazils will inſtantly appear miraculous; it will appear as if God, moved by the ſacred boldneſs of an extraordinary perſon, had ſent an avenger to the oppreſſed nation.

The peace, concluded three months after between England and the United Provinces, ſeemed to put the latter in a condition to recover a valuable poſſeſſion, which they had loſt by an ill-judged parſimony, and by an unfortunate concurrence of circumſtances; but both the republic and the Company fruſtrated the general expectation; and the treaty, which put an end to the diviſions between the two powers in 1661, ſecured to Portugal the ſole poſſeſſion of all the Brazils, in conſideration of eight millions of livres [333,333l.

6s. 8d.], which that crown engaged to pay to the United Provinces either in money or goods.

Thus did the Dutch part with a conqueſt that might have become the richeſt of all the European colonies, and would have given the republic a degree of importance it could never acquire from its own territory. But, in order to keep it, the government ought to have undertaken the adminiſtration and defence of it; and, to make it proſper, it ſhould have enjoyed full liberty. With theſe precautions, Brazil would have been preſerved, and would have enriched the nation, inſtead of ruining the Company. Unfortunately, it was not yet known, that the only way to make lands uſeful in America was to clear them, and that this could not be done with ſucceſs, unleſs a free trade were opened to all the inhabitants under the protection of government.

Situation of the Portugueſe in the Brazils, after they had expelled the Dutch.

No ſooner were the Portugueſe entirely freed, by a firm treaty, from an enemy by whom they had been ſo often conquered, and ſo often humbled, than they applied themſelves to give ſome ſtability to their poſſeſſion, and to increaſe its riches. Unfortunately, ſome of the ſteps taken in order to promote and enſure proſperity, bore the marks of ignorance and prejudice; but they were ſtill much ſuperior to any thing that had been practiſed before this memorable era.

While the court of Liſbon was engaged in regulating the interior concerns of the colony, ſome of the moſt active ſubjects of Portugal were deviſing the means of extending it. They advanced to the ſouth towards the river of Plata, and to the north as far as that of the Amazons. The Spaniards ſeemed to be in poſſeſſion of both theſe rivers. The Portugueſe were determined to drive them away, or to ſhare the navigation with them.

Settlement of the Portugueſe on the river of the Amazons.

The river of the Amazons, ſo famous for the length of its courſe; that great vaſſal of the ſea, to which it brings the tribute it hath received from ſo many of its own vaſſals; ſeems to be produced by innumerable torrents that ruſh down from the eaſt ſide of the Andes, and unite in a ſpacious plain, to form that immenſe river. Yet the common opinion is, that it comes from the lake Lauricocha, as from a reſervoir of the Cordeleirias ſituated in the diſtrict of Guanuco, thirty leagues diſtant from Lima, about the 11th degree of ſouth latitude. In its progreſs of a thouſand or eleven hundred leagues, it receives the waters of a prodigious number of rivers, ſome of which come from far, and are very broad and deep. It is interſperſed with an infinite number of iſlands, that are too often overflowed to admit of culture. It falls into the ocean under the line, and is there fifty leagues broad.

The mouth of this river was firſt diſcovered in 1500 by Vincent Pinçon, one of the companions of Columbus; and its ſource is thought to have been found out by Gonzalo Pizarro in 1538. His lieutenant Orellana embarked on this river, and ſailed from one end to the other of it. He was obliged to fight his way along, and to engage with many nations, who obſtructed his navigation with their canoes, and poured ſhowers of arrows upon him from the ſhore. It was certainly at this time that the ſight of ſavages without beards, as are all the American nations, ſtruck the lively imaginations of the Spaniards, and ſuggeſted the idea of an army of female warriors: this muſt have induced the commanding officer to change the name of that river, which was then called the Maragnon, and to call it the river of the Amazons; which name it retains to this day.

It might appear a matter of aſtoniſhment, that the diſcovery of America had not ſuggeſted any miraculous ſtories to the imagination of the Spaniards, of a people who, indeed, never poſſeſſed the delicacy of taſte, the ſenſibility, nor the graces that were allotted to the Greeks; but whom nature had indemnified for the want of theſe qualities, by giving them a haughtineſs of character, an elevation of ſoul, and an imagination as fertile, and more ardent, than ſhe had beſtowed on any other nation.

The Greeks never travelled, either in or beyond the precincts of their narrow territory, without meeting with ſomething marvellous. On the ſummit of the Pindus they ſaw Apollo, ſurrounded with the nine Muſes. They heard the caverns of Lemnos reſound with the hammers of the Cyclops. They faſtened Prometheus to the top of the Caucaſus. They cruſhed the giants under a weight of mountains. If Ætna roared, and vomited torrents of flame, this was aſcribed to the labours of Typhöeus. The plains and foreſts of the Greeks were peopled with ſatyrs and fauns, at whoſe dances there was not one of their poets who had not aſſiſted; while an entirely new ſyſtem of nature did not excite any new idea in the minds of the Spaniards. They were neither affected with the variety of the plants and animals, nor with the pictureſque manners of a race of men till that time unknown. What, then, could engage their attention? Slaughter, carnage, and plunder. The ſearch for gold, which kept them bent towards the foot of the mountains, reduced them to the poſture and to the ſtupidity of brutes.

As early as the times of Hercules and Theſeus, the Greeks had imagined the exiſtence of a nation of Amazons. With this fable they embelliſhed the hiſtory of all their heroes, not excepting that of Alexander; and the Spaniards, infatuated with this dream of antiquity, transferred it to the New World. We can ſcarce find a more probable origin of the opinion they eſtabliſhed both in Europe and America, of a republic of female warriors actually exiſting, who did not live in ſociety with men, and only admitted them once a-year, for the purpoſes of procreation. To give the more credit to this romantic ſtory, it was reported, not without reaſon, that the women in America were all ſo unhappy, and were treated with ſuch contempt and inhumanity, that many of them had agreed to ſhake off the yoke of their tyrants. It was further ſaid, that, being accuſtomed to follow the men into the foreſts, and to carry their proviſions and baggage when they went out to fight or to hunt, they muſt neceſſarily have been inured to hardſhips, and rendered capable of forming ſo bold a reſolution.

But it is abſurd to imagine, that women, who had ſo fixed an averſion for men, would ever conſent to become mothers; nor is it likely that the men would go in queſt of their wives, when they had made their lives inſupportable at home, and always turned them away as ſoon as they had no more occaſion for them. Much leſs can it be ſuppoſed, that the ſofter and more compaſſionate ſex would expoſe or ſtrangle their own children, becauſe they were boys; and coolly and deliberately agree to commit ſuch enormities as none would be guilty of, but a few individuals urged by rage and deſpair. Neither could an ariſtocratical or democratical republic, which it requires abilities to govern, be ruled by a ſenate of women; though a monarchical or deſpotic ſtate, in which it is only neceſſary to command, hath been, and may ſtill be, ſwayed by a female.

Let us conſider the weakneſs of organization in women; their almoſt conſtant valetudinarian ſtate; their natural puſillanimity; the ſeverity of the labours required in a ſocial ſtate, in times of peace or war; their abhorrence of blood; their fear of dangers; and let us then endeavour to reconcile all theſe circumſtances with the poſſibility of a female republic.

If ſome ſtrange prejudices have been able to form ſocieties of both ſexes amongſt us, who live ſeparate, notwithſtanding that natural attraction which was intended to unite them, it is not conſiſtent with the nature of things, that chance ſhould have produced a nation of men without women, and ſtill leſs a nation of women without men. Certain it is, that, ſince this political conſtitution hath been talked of, infinite pains have been taken to find it out, but no traces of it could ever be diſcovered. This ſingular prodigy, therefore, will be like many others, which are always ſuppoſed to exiſt, though we know not where.

Whatever may be the caſe with regard to this ci-

BOOK IX. cumſtance of the Amazons, the voyage of Orellana excited more curioſity than it procured information. An opportunity of ſatisfying it did not occur for ſome time, on account of the civil wars that diſturbed Peru; but when tranquillity was reſtored, Pedro d'Orſua, a gentleman of Navarre, diſtinguiſhed by his wiſdom and courage, offered the viceroy, in 1560, to reſume that navigation. He ſet out from Cuſco with ſeven hundred men. Theſe ſanguinary people, inveterate enemies to all worthy perſons, maſſacred their chief, who was a man of good morals, and attached to order and regularity. They ſet up at their head, with the title of king, a native of Biſcay, of a ferocious diſpoſition, whoſe name was Lopez d'Aguirre, and who promiſed them all the treaſures of the New World.

Intoxicated with ſuch flattering hopes, theſe barbarians ſailed down the river Amazon into the ocean, and, landing at Trinidad, murdered the governor, and plundered the iſland. The coaſts of Cumana, Caraccas, and St. Martha, were ſtill more ſeverely treated, becauſe they were richer. They then penetrated into New Granada, and were advancing to Quito, and into the interior part of Peru, where every thing was to be deſtroyed by fire and ſword. A body of troops, haſtily aſſembled, attacked theſe deſperate men, beat and diſperſed them. D'Aguirre, ſeeing no way to eſcape, marked his deſpair by an atrocious act. "My "child," ſaid he, to his only daughter, who attended him in his expeditions, "I thought to have placed thee "upon a throne, but the event hath not anſwered my "expectation. My honour and thine own will not "permit thee to live, and to be a ſlave to our ene"mies; die, therefore, by a father's hand." Saying this, he inſtantly ſhot her through the body, and then put an end to her life, by plunging a dagger into her heart. After this unnatural act, his ſtrength failed, and he was taken priſoner, drawn and quartered.

After theſe unfortunate events, the river of the Amazons was entirely neglected, and was totally forgotten for half a century. Some attempts were afterwards made to reſume the diſcovery of it, but they were ill concerted and no better executed. The honour of conquering theſe difficulties, and of acquiring a uſeful knowledge of that great river, was reſerved to the Portugueſe.

That nation, which ſtill retained ſome remains of her former vigour, had, ſome years before, built a town at the entrance of the river, which was called Belem. Pedro Texeira ſailed from this place in 1638, and with a great number of canoes, full of Indians and Portugueſe, went up the river of the Amazons, as far as the mouth of the Napo, and then up the Napo, which brought him almoſt to Quito, where he arrived by land. Notwithſtanding the enmity ſubſiſting between the Spaniards and Portugueſe, though ſubjects of the ſame maſter, Texeira was received with that regard, eſteem, and confidence, which were due to a man who was doing a ſignal ſervice. He returned in company with d'Acugna and d'Artieda, two learned Jeſuits, who were commiſſioned to verify his obſervations, and to make others. An accurate account of theſe two ſucceſsful voyages was ſent to the court of Madrid, where it gave riſe to a very extraordinary project.

The communication between the Spaniſh colonies had long been found very difficult. Some pirates, who were at enmity with them, infeſted the north and ſouth ſeas, and intercepted their navigation. Even thoſe of their ſhips which had got to the Havannah, and joined others, were not perfectly ſafe. The galleons were frequently attacked and taken by whole ſquadrons, and always purſued by privateers, who ſeldom failed to carry off the ſtraggling veſſels that were parted from the convoy, either by ſtormy weather; or by ſailing more ſlowly than the reſt. The Amazon river ſeemed as if it would obviate all theſe difficulties. It was thought poſſible, and even an eaſy matter, to convey thither the treaſures of New Granada, Popayan, Quito, Peru, and Chili itſelf, by navigable rivers, or at a ſmall expence by land. It was thought, that, coming down the river, they would find the galleons ready in the harbour of Parà to receive them. The fleet from Brazil would then have joined, and conſequently ſtrengthened the fleet from Spain. They would then have ſailed with great ſecurity in latitudes little known and little frequented, and would have arrived in Europe at leaſt with a formidable appearance; or might really have been in a condition to ſurmount any obſtacles they might have met with. The revolution which placed the duke of Braganza on the throne, put an end to theſe important projects. Each of the two nations was then only intent upon ſecuring to itſelf that part of the river which beſt ſuited its own ſituation.

The Spaniſh Jeſuits undertook to ſet up a miſſion in the country lying between the banks of the Amazon and of the Napo, as far as to the conflux of both theſe rivers. Every miſſionary, attended only by one man, took with him hatchets, knives, needles, and all kinds of iron tools, and penetrated into the thickeſt of the foreſts. There they ſpent whole months in climbing up the trees, to ſee if they could diſcover ſome hut, perceive any ſmoke, or hear the ſound of any drum or fife. When they were aſſured that ſome ſavages were in the neighbourhood, they advanced towards them. Moſt of them fled, eſpecially if they were at war. Thoſe whom the miſſionaries could come within reach of were eaſily bribed by ſuch preſents as their ignorance made them ſet a value upon. This was all the eloquence they had in their power, or all they had any occaſion to employ.

When they had aſſembled a few families, they led them to the place they had fixed upon to form a village. The ſavages were not eaſily prevailed upon to take up their abode there. As they were uſed to rove about, they found it an unſupportable hardſhip to remain always in the ſame place. The ſtate of independence in which they had lived, they thought preferable to the ſocial life that was recommended to them: and their unconquerable averſion for labour, induced them continually to return to the foreſts where they had paſſed their lives in idleneſs. Even thoſe who were reſtrained by the authority or the paternal kindneſs of their legiſlator, ſeldom failed to diſperſe in his abſence, though ever ſo ſhort. But his death at laſt occaſioned a total ſubverſion of the ſettlement.

It is impoſſible that any reader who reflects ſhould not be deſirous of knowing what ſtrange infatuation can induce an individual, who enjoys all the conveniences of life in his own country, to undertake the laborious and unfortunate function of a miſſionary; to quit his fellow-citizens, his friends, and his relations; to croſs the ſea, in order to bury himſelf in the midſt of foreſts; to expoſe himſelf to all the horrors of the moſt extreme miſery; to run the riſk, at every ſtep, either of being devoured by wild beaſts, or maſſacred by ſavages; to ſettle in the midſt of them; to conform himſelf to their manners; to ſhare their indigence and their fatigues; to be expoſed to their paſſions, or caprices, for at leaſt as long a time as is required to learn their language, and to make himſelf underſtood by them.

If this conduct be aſcribed to the enthuſiaſm of religion, what more powerful motive can be imagined? If to reſpect for the vows of obedience taken to ſuperiors, who have a right to order them to go any where, and who cannot be aſked the reaſon for thoſe orders, without committing the crime of perjury and apoſtacy, what good, or what evil, is it not in the power of hypocritical or ambitious maſters to do, who command ſo abſolutely, and who are ſo ſervilely obeyed? If it be the effect of a deep ſenſe of compaſſion for a part of the human ſpecies, whom it is intended to reſcue from a ſtate of ignorance, ſtupidity, and miſery, what virtue can be more heroic? With reſpect to the conſtancy with which theſe extraordinary men perſevere in ſo diſguſtful an undertaking; I ſhould have imagined, that by living ſo long among the ſavages, they would have become ſavages themſelves: but I ſhould have been deceived in this conjecture. It is, on the contrary, one of the moſt laudable of human vanities that ſupports them in their career.

"My friend," ſaid once to me an old miſſionary, who had lived thirty years in the midſt of the foreſts, and who, ſince he had returned into his own country, had fallen into a profound melancholy, and was for ever regretting his beloved ſavages; "My friend (ſaid he), you know not what it is to be the king, almoſt even the God, of a number of men, who owe to you the ſmall portion of happineſs they enjoy; and who are ever aſſiduous in aſſuring you of their gratitude. After they have been ranging through immenſe foreſts, they return, overcome with fatigue and inanition; if they have only killed one piece of game, for whom do you ſuppoſe it to be intended? It is for the FATHER; for it is thus they call us: and indeed they are really our children. Their diſſenſions are ſuſpended at our appearance. A ſovereign does not reſt in greater ſafety in the midſt of his guards, than we do ſurrounded by our ſavages. It is among them that I will go and end my days."

With this perſevering ſpirit, the Jeſuits had conquered, upon the Amazon, obſtacles apparently invincible. Their miſſion, which began in 1637, conſiſted, in 1766, of ten thouſand inhabitants, who were diſtributed in thirty-ſix villages, twelve of which were ſituated along the Napo, and twenty-four on the banks of the Amazon. They were from two to ten, fifteen, or ſometimes twenty days journey diſtant from one another. In moſt of the villages lived people belonging to ſeveral nations, who were all obſtinately attached to their cuſtoms and to their manners, and could never be brought to conſider themſelves as members of the ſame community. The efforts that were made to extend this ſettlement were not, nor could they be ſucceſsful.

The women of this part of America are not fruitful, and their barrenneſs increaſes when they remove from one place to another. The men are of a feeble habit, and the cuſtom they have of bathing conſtantly, by no means contributes to increaſe their ſtrength. The climate is not healthy, and contagious diſtempers are frequent. It hath never been poſſible, and probably never will be, to inſpire the ſavages with an inclination for agriculture. Their chief delight is in fiſhing and hunting, amuſements which are by no means favourable to the increaſe of population. In a country which is almoſt all under water, there are few convenient ſituations to form a ſettlement upon. Moſt of them are at ſo great a diſtance from each other, that they cannot poſſibly furniſh any mutual aſſiſtance. The nations which one might endeavour to incorporate are alſo too far ſeparated; moſt of them are intrenched in inacceſſible places, and are ſo inconſiderable, that they often conſiſt only of five or ſix families.

Of all the Indians the Jeſuits had collected, and whom they governed, none were ſo lifeleſs or ſo incapable of being animated as theſe. Every miſſionary was obliged to put himſelf at their head, in order to make them pick up the cocoa, vanilla, and ſarſaparilla, that nature plentifully offers them, and which are ſent every year to Quito, three hundred leagues off, that they may be bartered for articles of primary neceſſity. Their whole property conſiſts of a hut, open on all ſides, made of a few oſiers, and covered on the top with palm-leaves; a few implements of huſbandry, a lance, bows, and arrows for hunting, fiſhing-tackle, a tent, a hammock, and a canoe. It hath not been poſſible to inſpire them with deſires beyond theſe. They are ſo well ſatisfied with what they poſſeſs, that they wiſh for nothing more; they live unconcerned, and die without fear. They may be ſaid to be happy, if happineſs conſiſt more in an exemption from the uneaſy ſenſation that attends want, than in the multiplicity of enjoyments that our wants require.

This infant ſtate, the offspring of religion alone, hath been hitherto of no ſervice to Spain, and it can hardly be expected it ever ſhould. However, the government of Maynas, with its capital Borja, have been formed there. The deſtroyers of America have never thought of eſtabliſhing any ſettlement in a country where there are no mines, nor any of thoſe rich commodities which ſo powerfully allured their covetouſneſs; but this country hath ſometimes attracted the neighbouring ſavages.

While ſome miſſionaries were eſtabliſhing the authority of the court of Madrid on the banks of the Amazon, others were doing the ſame ſervice to the court of Liſbon. Six or ſeven days journey below the ſettlements of St. Ignacio de Pevas, the laſt under the juriſdiction of Spain, is St. Paul, the firſt of the numerous villages formed by the Portugueſe, at a very great diſtance from each other, on the banks of the largeſt river, and on thoſe of the ſmall ones that fall into it.

If the Maynas were at liberty to form connections with theſe neighbours, they might acquire by this intercourſe ſome conveniencies that they cannot be ſupplied with from Quito, being ſeparated from that place by the Cordeleras, which cut off the communication more effectually than immenſe ſeas would do. This indulgence of government might perhaps be productive of conſiderable advantages; and, poſſibly, both Spain and Portugal, though rival powers, might be ſenſible that it would be for their mutual intereſt to extend it. It is well known that the province of Quito is poor, for want of an opportunity of diſpoſing of the overplus of thoſe very commodities that are not to be had at Para. The two provinces mutually aſſiſting each other by means of the Napo and of the Amazon, would riſe to a degree of proſperity they could never attain without this intercourſe. The mother-countries would in time reap great advantages from it, and it could never be prejudicial to them, becauſe Quito could never purchaſe what is ſent from Europe to America, and Para conſumes nothing but what Liſbon obtains from foreign countries. But national antipathies, and the jealouſies of crowned heads, are attended with the ſame effects as the paſſions and prejudices of men in private life. One unfortunate incident is ſufficient to divide families and nations for ever, whoſe greateſt intereſt it is to love and aſſiſt one another, and to promote the general good. The ſpirit of hatred and revenge will rather induce men to ſubmit to ſuffer than not be gratified. Thoſe paſſions are conſtantly kept up by the mutual injuries and the effuſion of blood they occaſion. How different is man in the ſtate of nature from man corrupted by ſociety! The latter amply deſerves all the misfortunes he brings upon himſelf.

It is a circumſtance we have leſs reaſon than ever to expect, that any kind of confidence can be eſtabliſhed in theſe countries, between the two European nations that are in poſſeſſion of them. It hath been for a long time ſuſpected, that the river Amazon and the Oroonoko communicated with each other by means of the Black River, where the court of Liſbon hath ſeveral ſettlements. This circumſtance, which had been ſo long a matter of conteſt, was demonſtrated in 1744, by ſome Portugueſe boats, which having ſet out from one of theſe rivers, ſailed into the other. This produced a new ſource of jealouſy, to which the two miniſters ought to have put a ſtop, when their attention was engaged in ſettling the differences which had too often ſtained the river Plata with blood.

The Portugueſe, who had appeared upon this great river ſoon after the Spaniards, were not long before they forgot it. They did not come there again till the year 1553, when they got as far as Buenos-Ayres, and took poſſeſſion of the northern coaſt of the provinces. This act had not been attended with any conſequences, when the court of Liſbon ordered, in 1680, that the colony of St. Sacrament ſhould be eſtabliſhed preciſely at the extremity of the territory which they thought belonged to them. This claim appeared to the Spaniards to be ill-founded; and they deſtroyed theſe riſing walls without much difficulty.

The Portugueſe wiſh to form ſettlements on the river Plata. Their diſputes with Spain. Accommodations between the two powers.

Violent conteſts immediately aroſe between the two powers. Spain proved that the new colony was placed in the ſpace allotted to her, by the boundary marked by the popes. The Portugueſe did not deny this aſtronomical truth, but they maintained, that this agreement was annulled by later arrangements, and in a more particular manner by the treaty of 1668, which put a ſtop to hoſtilities, and ſettled the fate of the two nations. It was concluded in 1681, after a multitude of conteſts, that the Portugueſe ſhould again be put in poſſeſſion of the poſt they had occupied; but that the inhabitants of Buenos-Ayres, as well as they, ſhould have the enjoyment of all the diſputed domains.

The war between the two crowns, in the beginning of the century, broke off this proviſional agreement, and in the year 1705 the Portugueſe were again driven out of St. Sacrament; but were reinſtated in the poſſeſſion of it by the peace of Utrecht. This treaty granted them even more than they had ever had, ſince it enſured to them excluſively the whole territory of the colony.

At that period a conſiderable ſmuggling trade was begun, between the Portugueſe ſettlement of St. Sacrament, and that of the Spaniards at Buenos-Ayres, in which all parts of the Brazils and of Peru, and even ſome merchants of the mother-countries, were more or leſs concerned.

The court of Madrid ſoon perceived that the treaſures of the New World were conveyed into another channel. In order to bring them back again, they did not think of any more certain method, than that of limiting, as much as poſſible, the ſtaple of theſe fraudulent connections. Their miniſters aſſerted, that the places under the dominion of the Portugueſe ought not to be extended beyond cannon-ſhot; and they cauſed all the northern coaſt of the Plata, from the mouth of that great river, to the ſettlement which occaſioned them ſuch terrible alarms, to be filled up with flocks, ſheep-folds, and with the villages of Maldonado and Montevideo, and contrived other known methods of occupying this intermediate ſpace.

Theſe unforeſeen enterpriſes revived everlaſting animoſities, which had been for a ſhort time ſuſpended by their commercial connections. Theſe neighbouring people carried on a clandeſtine war with one another. The two nations were upon the brink of an open rupture, when, in 1750, a treaty was propoſed, which appeared likely to ſettle the differences between theſe two monarchies. By this treaty, the Portugueſe exchanged the colony of St. Sacrament, and its territory, for the ſeven miſſions formerly eſtabliſhed on the eaſtern coaſt of the Uruguay.

It was neceſſary that this treaty ſhould be executed in America; and this was not an eaſy matter. The Jeſuits, who from their earlieſt origin had opened to themſelves a ſecret road to dominion, might have objected to the diſmembering of an empire which owed its exiſtence to their labours. Independent of this great intereſt, they might have thought themſelves reſponſible for the felicity of a docile ſet of people, who, by throwing themſelves in their arms, had intruſted them with the care of their future welfare. Beſides, the Guaranis had not been conquered: and therefore, when they ſubmitted to Spain, they did not give that crown the right of alienating them from their dominion; without having reflected on the inconteſtable rights of nations, they might imagine that it belonged to them alone to determine what was conducive to their happineſs. The horror they were well known to entertain for the Portugueſe yoke, was equally capable of leading them aſtray, or of enlightening them. So critical a ſituation required the greateſt precautions, and they were attended to.

The forces which the two powers had ſent from Europe, and thoſe which could be aſſembled in the New World, united themſelves in order to ſurmount the obſtacles that were foreſeen; but theſe preparations did not terrify the people that were the object of them. Although the ſeven ceded colonies were not aſſiſted by the other colonies, at leaſt not openly; although they were no more headed by the chiefs, who till that time had led them on to battle, they were not afraid of taking up arms to defend their liberty. But their military conduct was not ſuch as it ought to have been. Inſtead of contenting themſelves with haraſſing their enemies, and with interrupting the proviſions they were obliged to get from the diſtance of two hundred leagues, the Guaranis ventured to wait for them in the open field. They loſt a battle which coſt them two thouſand men. This conſiderable check diſconcerted their meaſures; their courage ſeemed to give way, and they abandoned their territory, without making thoſe efforts which were expected from their firſt reſolution, and which were, perhaps, conſiſtent with their ſtrength.

After this event, the Spaniards attempted to take poſſeſſion of the colony of St. Sacrament. The Portugueſe refuſed to give it up, alleging that the inhabitants of the Uruguay were only diſperſed; and that, till the court of Madrid ſhould ſettle them in ſome of their own domains, they would always be diſpoſed to recover that territory which they had quitted with ſo much regret. Theſe difficulties, whether real or imaginary, prevented the concluſion of the treaty; which was even entirely put a ſtop to by the two courts in 1761, and every thing fell again into confuſion.

From that time, theſe deſerts have been almoſt inceſſantly ſtained with blood; ſometimes by hoſtilities that were not publicly avowed, and ſometimes by open wars. Portugal, deprived of the aſſiſtance of England, hath at length been obliged to ſubmit. The treaties of the firſt of October 1777, and of the eleventh of March 1778, have deprived it for ever of the colony of St. Sacrament; but they have reſtored it to the territory of the river St. Peter, which had been taken from it, under the pretences ſo frequently alleged, of the line of mark.

While theſe reſtleſs and enterpriſing men were ravaging the Amazon and the Plata, ſome laborious and peaceable citizens were employed in multiplying on the coaſt of Brazil important productions, which were delivered to the mother-country, which, in return, ſupplied them with every thing they were in want of.

Portugal had ſettled its connections with the Brazils upon a bad plan; to

The whole trade was carried on by a fleet, which ſailed every year from Liſbon and Oporto in the month of March. The ſhips it conſiſted of parted when they came to a certain latitude, and proceeded to their reſpective deſtinations; but they afterwards all met at

Bahia to ſail for Portugal, which they reached in September or October the year following, under convoy of the men of war, which had eſcorted them at their going out.

which a ſyſtem of monopoly, ſtill more deſtructive, was ſubſtituted.

A regulation ſo contrary to maxims generally received was cenſured by many judicious perſons, who thought it would have been better to have left the merchants at liberty to ſend out their ſhips, and order them home when it ſuited them beſt. This ſyſtem would have reduced the expence of freight, rendered the voyages more frequent, increaſed the maritime forces, and encouraged every ſpecies of agriculture. The intercourſe between the colonies and the mother-country, being more conſtant, would have given information which would have enabled government to extend its protection more eaſily, and to ſecure its authority.

The court of Liſbon ſeemed frequently inclined to yield to theſe conſiderations, but was deterred by the fear of ſeeing the ſhips fall into the enemy's hands if they ſailed ſeparately: by cuſtom, the ſway of which is ſtill more powerful over government than over individuals; by the inſinuations of ſome men in power, whoſe intereſt would have been affected by the revolution; and by variety of prejudices, none of which could have borne the ſlighteſt ſcrutiny.

It was upon this principle that the Portugueſe ſettlements in the Old and in the New World were founded, when the diſcovery of the gold and diamond mines, in the beginning of the century, fixed the attention of all nations upon the Brazils. It was generally thought that thoſe riches, added to thoſe of another kind furniſhed by the colony, would render it one of the fineſt ſettlements of the globe. The Europeans were not yet undeceived, when they learned with ſurpriſe, that the moſt important part of thoſe regions was juſt ſubjected to the yoke of monopoly.

Portugal hath made immenſe diſcoveries in Africa, and in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, without the aſſiſtance of any Company. This had been done by ſome aſſociations, which kings, nobles, and merchants, had occaſionally formed among themſelves, and which fitted out fleets more or leſs conſiderable, for thoſe three parts of the globe. It was not to be expected that a nation, which, in the barbarous ages, had purſued the ineſtimable advantages of competition, would, at laſt, in an enlightened age, adopt a pernicious ſyſtem, which, by collecting the principles of life and motion into a ſmall part of the body politic, leaves all the reſt in a ſtate of inactivity and ruin.

This plan was formed among the ruins of Liſbon, when the earth had, as it were, caſt out her inhabitants, and left them no aſylum or place of ſafety but on the ſea, or in the New World. The dreadful ſhocks which had ſubverted that ſuperb capital were ſtill repeated, and the flames that had reduced it to aſhes were ſcarce extinguiſhed, when an excluſive Company was eſtabliſhed, for the purpoſe of ſelling to foreign nations, at the Brazils, and even in retail, within the ſpace of three leagues, the wine ſo well known by the name of Port, which is drunk in many of the colonies, in part of the north, and eſpecially in England. This Company hath a capital of 3,000,000 livres [125,000l.], divided into two hundred ſhares, of 2500 livres [104l. 3s. 4d.] each. They lend to the proprietors of the vines half the price they are allowed to charge for the vintage; a price which they can never raiſe, however favourable the year may be. For the beſt wines, they are paid at the rate of 156 livres five ſols [6l. 10s. 2½d.] per ton; but they receive no more than 125 livres [5l. 4s. 2d.] for thoſe of an inferior quality. How great ſoever the dearth may be, or however conſiderable the vent, the cultivator can never expect an increaſe of more than 31 livres five ſols [1l. 6s. 2½d.] per ton, and the ton conſiſts of about 220 gallons.

Oporto, which is become the firſt city in the kingdom for its population, riches, and commerce, ſince Liſbon had, as it were, diſappeared, juſtly took the alarm, thinking that her trade would be ruined by this fatal alienation of the rights of the whole nation in favour of a Company. The province between the Douro and the Minho, the moſt fruitful in the kingdom, formed no further expectations from its cultures. Deſpair excited a ſpirit of ſedition among the people; and this gave occaſion to the cruelties of the government. Twelve hundred perſons were either executed, condemned to public labour, baniſhed to the forts in Africa, or reduced to poverty by odious confiſcations of their poſſeſſions.

On the 6th of June 1755, an excluſive Company, with a capital of 3,000,000 livres [125,000l.], divided into twelve hundred ſhares, was eſtabliſhed for the great Para, and for the Maragnan. Four years after, the province of Fernambucca was put under a ſimilar yoke, with this difference, that the latter monopoly had a fund of 3,500,000 livres [145,833l. 6s. 8d.], which was divided into three thouſand four hundred ſhares. The two ſocieties were authoriſed to gain fifteen *per cent.* excluſive of all expences, on articles of proviſions; and to ſell their merchandiſe for forty-five *per cent.* more than they would have coſt even at Liſbon. They were allowed to pay as little as they choſe for the proviſions furniſhed by the diſtricts ſubject to their tyranny. Such extraordinary favours were to laſt twenty years, and might be renewed, to the great detriment of the colony.

Civil, military, and religious government eſtabliſhed in the Brazils.

The Brazils are at preſent divided into nine provinces, which are all governed by a ſeparate commander. Although theſe ſeveral chiefs are expected to conform to the general regulations which the viceroy thinks proper to make, they are independent of his authority, becauſe they receive their orders directly from Liſbon, and becauſe they themſelves give an account to that court of the affairs in their department. They are only appointed for three years, but their commiſſion is uſually extended beyond that period. They are prohibited by the law from marrying in the country under their juriſdiction; from being concerned in any branch of trade; from accepting any preſent whatſoever; from receiving any emoluments for the functions of their office; and this law hath been rather ſtrictly obſerved for ſome years paſt. Accordingly, fortunes are at preſent very ſeldom made, or even begun, in thoſe poſts in the New World. The perſons who voluntarily reſign are obliged, as well as thoſe who are recalled, to give an account of their conduct to the commiſſioners appointed by the mother-country; and citizens of all ranks are indiſcriminately admitted to impeach them. If they happen to die in their poſt, the biſhop, the higheſt military officer, and the firſt magiſtrate, jointly aſſume the reins of government till the arrival of the ſucceſſor.

The juriſprudence of the Brazils is entirely the ſame as that of Portugal. There is a judge eſtabliſhed in each diſtrict, from whoſe deciſion an appeal may be made to the ſuperior tribunals of Bahia, and of Rio Janeiro, and even to thoſe of Liſbon, if it be upon matters of conſequence. The great Para and Maragnan alone are allowed to appeal immediately to the mother-country, without being obliged to appear before the two intermediate tribunals. In criminal caſes, rather a different plan is adopted. The judge of each diſtrict hath a right to puniſh, without appeal, ſmall miſdemeanours. The crimes are judged by the governor, aſſiſted by ſome aſſeſſors appointed by the law.

A particular tribunal is eſtabliſhed in every province, to take care of the legacies which belong to heirs, whoſe reſidence is acroſs the ſeas. They are allowed to deduct five *per cent.* for their ſalaries, and the reſt is ſent to Portugal, to be depoſited in a place deſtined to receive it. The inconvenience of this otherwiſe judicious inſtitution is, that the Brazilian creditors can only be paid in Europe.

The finances of each province are adminiſtered by the commandant and four magiſtrates. Their account is ſent every year to the royal treaſury of the mother-country, and ſcrutinized with great ſeverity.

Every town, and every village, in the leaſt conſiderable, hath a court of judicature. Their buſineſs is to attend to the ſmall concerns they are intruſted with, and to ſettle, under the inſpection of the commandant, the trifling taxes that are neceſſary. Several privileges have been granted to this tribunal, eſpecially that of having the right to carry any complaint they may have againſt the head of the colony immediately to the ſovereign.

The military are upon the ſame footing in the Brazils, as in Portugal, and in the reſt of Europe. The troops are at the diſpoſal of every governor, who appoints to all the vacant commiſſions under the rank of captain. He hath the ſame authority over the militia, which conſiſts of all the citizens that are not *fidalgos*, that is to ſay, of the firſt nobility, or who have no public employment. This body of men, who are all obliged to wear a uniform at their own expence, are never aſſembled in the interior parts of the country, except in caſes of abſolute neceſſity; but at Fernambucca, at Bahia, and at Rio Janeiro, they are exerciſed during one month every year, and are then paid by the government. The Negroes and Mulattoes have ſtandards of their own; and the Indians fight under the ſame banners as the white men. The colony, at this preſent time, conſiſts of fifteen thouſand eight hundred and ninety-nine regulars, and of twenty-one thouſand eight hundred and fifty militia.

Though the King, as Grand Maſter of the Order of Chriſt, be ſolely in poſſeſſion of the tithes; and though the produce of the Cruſade belong entirely to him; yet, in this extenſive part of the New World, ſix biſhoprics have been ſucceſſively founded, which acknowledge for their ſuperior the archbiſhopric of Bahia, eſtabliſhed in the year 1552. The fortunate prelates, moſt of them Europeans, who fill theſe honourable ſees, live in a very commodious manner upon the emoluments attached to the functions of their miniſtry, and upon a penſion of twelve hundred, and from that to thirty thouſand livres [from 50l. to 1250l.] granted to them by the government.

Among the inferior clergy, none but the miſſionaries who are ſettled in the Indian villages are paid by government; but the others find ſufficient reſources among the ſuperſtitious people, whom they are to edify, to inſtruct, and to comfort. Beſide an annual tribute, paid by every family to the clergyman, he is entitled to forty ſols [1s. 8d.] for every birth, every wedding, and every burial. The law which reduces this contribution to one-half for poor people, and to nothing for thoſe that are entirely indigent, is ſeldom obſerved. The avidity of the prieſts hath even been carried ſo far as to double this ſhameleſs ſalary, in the diſtricts of the mines.

Some few aſylums for maidens have been ſuffered at Bahia, and at Rio Janeiro; but it hath never been allowed to eſtabliſh nunneries in the Brazils. The monks have been more ſucceſsful; and there are at preſent twenty convents of different orders, the two richeſt of which are occupied by Benedictines, who are as idle as they are licentious. None of theſe fatal eſtabliſhments are founded in the gold countries. The Jeſuits had taken advantage of the influence they had over government, to evade the law, which forbade any regular orders to ſettle in thoſe regions. No inſtitution hath been powerful enough ſince their expulſion, to extort ſo ſignal a favour.

Though there be not abſolutely an inquiſition in the Brazils, the people of that country are not protected from the outrages of that barbarous inſtitution. The eccleſiaſtics of the colony, who are appointed by that tribunal to be their agents, are all of them imbued with the ſame ſanguinary maxims. Their mercileſs ſeverity is moſtly provoked by accuſations of Judaiſm. This ſort of fury roſe to ſuch an enormous height, from 1702 to 1718, that the minds of all men were impreſſed with terror, and moſt of the cultures were neglected.

There is no particular ordonnance in the Brazils for ſlaves, and they ought to be tried by the common law. As their maſters are obliged to feed them, and that it is become a general cuſtom to allot them a ſmall piece of ground, which they are allowed to cultivate for their own emolument, thoſe among them who are induſtrious and laborious are, ſooner or later, enabled to purchaſe their liberty. It is ſeldom refuſed them; and they may even demand it, at the price ſettled by the regulations, when they find themſelves oppreſſed. It is, probably, for this reaſon, that, notwithſtanding the great facility they have for eloping, yet there are few fugitive Negroes throughout this vaſt continent. Thoſe few who are found in the country of the mines only employ themſelves quietly at a diſtance, in cultivating the productions neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence.

Such of the Negroes as have purchaſed their liberty enjoy the rights of citizens as well as the Mulattoes; but they are both excluded from the prieſthood, and from any civil employment. Even in the ſervice they can have no commiſſion, except in their own battalions. The white men ſeldom marry the Negro women; moſt of them go no farther than to form illegal connections with them. Theſe connections, which have the ſanction of the manners of the country, differ ſcarcely from matrimony, in regions where men diſpoſe of their fortunes in conformity to their caprices and paſſions.

Former and preſent ſtate of the Indians ſubject to Portugal in the Brazils.

The ſtate of the Indians hath not always been the ſame: at firſt they were ſeized upon, ſold in public markets, and compelled to work like ſlaves in the plantations.

In 1570, Sebaſtian forbade that any Brazilian ſhould be made a ſlave, except ſuch as had been taken priſoners in a juſt war: but this law was not attended to, becauſe the Portugueſe would have thought themſelves diſgraced in tilling the ground; and at that time few cultivators had been ſent to Africa.

The edict of Philip II. which, in 1595, confirmed the orders of Sebaſtian, and which even reduced to ten years the term of ſlavery, to thoſe whom that prince had allowed to be kept in perpetual ſervitude, was equally diſregarded.

Two mandates, of 1605 and 1609, again declared all the Indians, without exception, to be entirely free.

Philip III. being informed that his commands were not obeyed, iſſued a third law, by which thoſe who infringed it were condemned to ſevere penalties. But, at that period, the colony was ſtill governed by a court of judicature, moſt of the members of which were born in America itſelf; ſo that the new arrangements were not much more reſpected than the old ones had been.

In the meanwhile, the miſſionaries were every day exclaiming, with greater vehemence, againſt the tyranny with which their converts were oppreſſed. In 1647, the new court of Liſbon gave way to their preſſing ſolicitations, and formally renewed the orders which forbade the detaining of any Brazilian in ſlavery. The ſpirit of independence, which manifeſted itſelf throughout the whole colony, convinced that ſtill tottering power, that they were not allowed to do every thing that was juſt; and, eight years after, their orders were qualified, by permitting that thoſe individuals who were born of a Negro mother and of an Indian father might be kept in ſlavery.

The Dutch had juſt then been driven from this part of the New World. The connections with the coaſt of Africa, which had been interrupted by the bloody wars the Portugueſe had been obliged to ſuſtain againſt thoſe republicans, reſumed their former courſe. The population of the Negroes was increaſed in the Brazils. Their ſervices ſoon diſguſted the Portugueſe of the natives of the country, who were weaker, and not ſo laborious. Thoſe who periſhed were not replaced; and that ſpecies of ſervitude was, by degrees, aboliſhed every where, except at St. Paul, at Maragnan, and on the Amazon river, at which places there were not yet any rich ſettlements, and where the Portugueſe were not capable of purchaſing ſlaves. The decrees iſſued in 1680, 1713, and 1741, to extirpate theſe remains of barbariſm, were of no effect; and it was not till 1755 that all the Brazilians became really free.

At this period they were declared citizens by government; they were to enjoy that title in the ſame manner as their conquerors. The ſame road was laid open to their talents; and they were allowed to aſpire at the ſame dignities. An event ſo much calculated to excite the emotions of a feeling heart, was ſcarce attended to. Pleaſure, fortune, war, politics, engroſs every body's attention, while a revolution, ſo favourable to humanity, almoſt generally eſcapes our notice; and that even in the eighteenth century, in the midſt of that enlightened and philoſophical age. The happineſs of nations is much talked of, but is neither perceived nor felt.

All the faulty operations of government are attacked with ſeverity; and when they, by chance, happen to do any good act, a general ſilence is obſerved. Is this the kind of acknowledgment which the people owe to thoſe who attend to their happineſs? Or, is this ſort of ingratitude calculated to attach them to their laborious offices? Is it thus they can be induced to fill them with diſtinction? If the people expect that their murmurs and their diſcontents ſhould be attended to when they are oppreſſed, they ſhould expreſs their joy in the moſt lively manner when they have obtained redreſs. Whenever the burden of the taxes hath been alleviated, let the houſes be illuminated; let them aſſemble in multitudes, and fill the houſes and the ſtreets; let them light up bonfires, and dance and ſing round them; let them pronounce with tranſport the name of their benefactor. Is there one among all the directors of the empire who would not be gratified with ſuch homage? Is there one who could ever reſolve to quit his place, or who could die without having received it? Is there a man who would not be deſirous of increaſing theſe triumphs? Is there one whoſe grandchildren would not feel a noble pride in hearing it ſaid of him, his anceſtor was the man who occaſioned the lighting up of bonfires four or five times, during the courſe of his adminiſtration? Is there one who would not be ambitious of bequeathing ſuch a mark of diſtinction to his deſcendants? Is there a man who would dare to have engraved upon his tomb the poſt he had filled in his lifetime, without mentioning the public feſtivals that had been celebrated in his honour? Such a ſilence would transform the inſcription into a ſatire. The people are equally abject in proſperity as in adverſity; they know not how to complain, or how to rejoice.

Some men, more attentive to the intereſting ſcenes that are diſplayed from time to time on the ſurface of the globe, conceived a good opinion of the new ſyſtem. They flattered themſelves that the Indians would apply themſelves to cultivation, and multiply the productions; that their labours would enable them to procure for themſelves numberleſs conveniences which they had not yet enjoyed; that the ſight of their happineſs would diſguſt the ſavages of their foreſts, and would determine them to a more quiet way of living; that an entire confidence would gradually be eſtabliſhed between the Americans and the Europeans; and that they would in time become one people. They flattered themſelves that the court of Liſbon would have the prudence not to diſturb ſo deſirable a harmony by any particular diſtinctions; that they would endeavour, by all poſſible means, to obliterate the memory of thoſe evils which they had brought upon the New Hemiſphere.

But how far are we from ſeeing theſe flattering hopes fulfilled! In the provinces of Fernambucca, of Bahia, of Rio Janeiro, and of Minas-Geraes, the Brazilians continue to be mixed with the Portugueſe and with the Negroes, but without any change in their characters, becauſe no pains have been taken to enlighten them; becauſe no efforts have been made to overcome their natural lazineſs; becauſe no lands have been diſtributed to them; and becauſe nothing hath been given them in advance, by which their emulation might probably have been excited.

At Para, at Maragnan, at Matto-Groſſo, at Goyas and at St. Paul, the Indians have been united in a hundred and ſeventeen villages, over each of which a white man preſides. It is his buſineſs to ſettle the occupations, to direct the cultures, to buy and to ſell fo the community, to puniſh and to reward. It is he who delivers to the agents of government the tenth of the territorial productions. It is he who appoints thoſe among them who are obliged to ſubmit to the labours of vaſſalage with which they are oppreſſed. Theſe ſubaltern agents, diſperſed in the ſeveral colonies, are ſuperintended by a chief, who is veſted with great authority.

The opinions of men have been divided reſpecting theſe regulations. A writer, who hath never been out of Europe, would be conſidered as a very bold man, ſhould he venture to decide between two parties, which an experience of three centuries hath not been able to reconcile. But let me at leaſt be permitted to obſerve, that one of the moſt enlightened men that ever lived at the Brazils, hath frequently told me, that the Indians, who are ſuffered to be their own maſters in the Portugueſe colony, are very ſuperior in underſtanding and induſtry to thoſe who are kept under perpetual tuition.

Preſent ſtate of the government of Para.

The government of Para is the moſt northern of any of theſe colonies. It comprehends that portion of Guiana which belongs to the Portugueſe; the borders of the Amazon, from the conflux of the Madeira and the Mamore; and to the eaſt, all that ſpace which extends as far as the river of the Tocantines. This is the moſt barren and the moſt unwholeſome country in theſe regions.

No productions can be expected in Guiana, except on the Black River, the elevated banks of which would be very fit for all the productions that enrich the beſt colonies of America. But this country is only inhabited by Indians, who are almoſt ſolely employed in the turtle fiſhery, and whom it hath not yet been poſſible to fix to any thing but the cutting of ſome woods for cabinet-work. This river receives that of Cayari, where, in 1749, a ſilver mine was diſcovered, which undoubtedly, for ſome political reaſons, hath never been worked.

The borders of the Amazon, on the north ſide, are almoſt under water. The ſmall quantity of dry land that is found there is perpetually infeſted with all kinds of inſects.

Though the ſouth part of the Amazon be marſhy in many places, yet its ſoil is commonly more firm, and leſs infeſted with reptiles. The great and numerous rivers which empty themſelves into it afford ſtill greater reſources for cultivation, and yet there is no ſettlement formed upon them.

The Portugueſe navigators did not enter the Amazon before the year 1535. Ayres d'Acunha and his followers were almoſt all ſhipwrecked there. It was not till 1615, that Francis Caldeira laid the foundations of a town, which was called Belem, on the banks of the rivers. In 1663, the territory of Macapa was given by government to Bento Maciel Parente, and afterwards the iſland of Joanna to Macedo: but theſe two grants have been ſince reunited to the crown; the firſt by the extinction of the family that had obtained it, and the ſecond by exchanges.

The Portugueſe contented themſelves, for a long time, with making excurſions of greater or leſs extent, to carry off ſome Brazilians. They were a ſet of turbulent and daring ſavages, who were endeavouring to ſubdue other ſavages leſs ſtrong and leſs courageous than themſelves. Theſe deſtructive fatigues, theſe unavailing cruelties, had laſted for the ſpace of a century, when ſome miſſionaries undertook to civilize the wandering Indians. They have aſſembled no inconſiderable number of them in ſeventy eight villages, but without being able entirely to fix them there. After having ſpent four or five months in a ſedentary and idle life, theſe men, attracted by their ancient habits, forſook their habitations and families, in order to gather in the foreſts the productions of uncultivated nature, which, with very little labour, they might have procured at home, or might have ſubſtituted to them others of a ſuperior quality. The wild cacao, the vanilla, the tortoiſe, and crab-ſhells, the ſarſaparilla, the capivi balſam, and the vegetable wool, which are collected in theſe ruinous excurſions, that are renewed every year, are carried to Belem, the capital of the government.

This town, which is built at the diſtance of twenty leagues from the ſea, and upon a ſoil that riſes thirteen feet above the level of the ocean, was for a long time nothing more than a ſtaple, to which the riches of the ſavages were conveyed from the inland country. Some Negroes, whom it hath at laſt procured, have cultivated in its neighbourhood a ſmall quantity of cotton, which is afterwards manufactured in the country itſelf; and ſome ſugar-canes, the indifferent produce of which is afterwards made into brandy. They have alſo cultivated coffee, rice, and cacao, for exportation. The ſale of the flocks, which grazed in the iſland of Marajo, was for a conſiderable time one of their reſources. At preſent they have ſcarce oxen enough remaining for their own conſumption.

Before the year 1755, this eſtabliſhment received every year from the mother-country from thirteen to fourteen ſhips. Since it hath been ſubjected by a miſtaken or corrupted miniſtry to a monopoly, it receives no more than five or ſix. The value of its exports ſeldom exceeds 600,000 livres [25,000l.]. This feeble produce is not much increaſed by the wood for building, which the government buys up, and carries away upon its ſhips.

The population of the colony conſiſts of four thouſand one hundred and twenty-eight white men, of nine thouſand nine hundred and nineteen black ſlaves, or free Mulattoes, and of thirty-four thouſand eight hundred and forty-four Indians.

This country, which in 1778 hath been relieved from the oppreſſion neceſſarily attending an excluſive privilege, will undoubtedly avail itſelf of its liberty. The port of Belem, which is called Para, a name which is likewiſe ſometimes given to the city, doth not oppoſe ſo many obſtacles to the ſucceſs of any enterpriſe as is commonly imagined. It is, indeed, difficult of acceſs. Currents which run in contrary directions, and which are occaſioned by a multitude of ſmall iſlands, render the navigation of ſhips ſlow and uncertain. But when once they get into the harbour, they anchor in a muddy bottom, with four, five, or ſix fathom of water. The canal which leads up to it grows, however, more ſhallow every day; and in a ſhort time it will not be practicable, if, as it muſt be ſuppoſed, the waters continue to depoſit as much earth as they have dragged into it for this laſt century.

State of the government of Maragnan.

The Maragnan is ſeparated from Para on the north by the river of the Tocantines, from Goyaz on the ſouth by that of the Cordeleirias mountains, which is called Guacuragua, and on the weſt from Fernambucca by the Ypiapaba mountains.

The Portugueſe arrived for the firſt time in this province in 1535; and they were caſt upon it by a ſtorm; but they did not ſettle there till 1599. The French ſeized upon it in 1612, and were driven from thence three years after. It remained under the yoke of the Dutch from 1641 to 1644; at which period the firſt uſurpers again took poſſeſſion of it, and have kept it ever ſince.

The buſineſs of collecting the ambergriſe upon the coaſts, which was the amuſement of the ſavages, became the occupation of the firſt Europeans. This trifling reſource was ſoon exhauſted; and no other was ſubſtituted to it, as there ought to have been. The ſettlement continued for a long time in a languiſhing ſtate; and it hath been but lately perceived, that the cotton which grew upon this territory was the beſt in the New World. The culture of this plant increaſes daily; and, for ſome years paſt, that of rice hath been joined to it, though it be of an inferior quality to the rice of the Levant, and even to that of North America. Several attempts have been made to produce ſilk there; but the climate hath been found totally unfit for it. The project, however, of enriching the country by the culture of indigo, ſeems to promiſe much ſucceſs. The fineſt arnotto of the Brazils is already gathered there.

The part of the colony firſt peopled was the iſland of Saint Louis, which is ſeven leagues long, and four broad, and which is ſeparated from the continent only by a very ſmall river. There is a town of the ſame name in it, where all the trade is tranſacted, although it hath a bad harbour. Some cultivations are carried on there; but the moſt conſiderable are on the continent, upon the rivers of Ytapicorié, of Mony, of Iquara, of Pindaré, and of Meary.

In the ſame government, and towards the back of the province, is the country of Pauchy, where the inhabitants of St. Paul penetrated in 1571. It was not conquered without much difficulty, and is not yet entirely ſubdued on the eaſtern ſide. Its ſoil is uneven and ſandy, though exceedingly elevated. It is inhabited by ſhepherds. Upon this ſoil, which is covered with ſaltpetre, they rear a conſiderable number of horſes and horned cattle, which are ſold to tolerable advantage in the neighbouring countries; but the ſheep degenerate there, as well as in the reſt of the Brazils, except in the Coritibe. Unfortunately, the too frequent droughts, and the exceſſive heats, very often deſtroy whole flocks, when ſufficient attention is not paid to lead them in time to diſtant paſtures.

The mines of ſulphur, alum, copperas, iron, lead, and antimony, are very common and very ſuperficial in theſe mountains, and yet none of them have been opened. Permiſſion was, indeed, given, in 1572, to work the ſilver one which had been diſcovered three or four years before; but very ſoon after the court retracted this permiſſion, for reaſons that are not known to us.

This government conſiſts of eight thouſand nine hundred and ninety-three white men, ſeventeen thouſand eight hundred and forty-four Negroes, or free Mulattoes, and ſlaves; and of thirty-eight thouſand nine hundred and thirty-ſeven Indians, either ſcattered, or aſſembled in ten villages. The exportations have not as yet been equal to this degree of population. Their value was little more than 6 or 700,000 livres [from 25,000l. to 29,166l. 13s. 4d.]; but ſince the monopoly hath been aboliſhed, it muſt become more conſiderable.

State of the government of Fernambucca.

The province which follows that of Maragnan, and which is called Fernambucca, was formed out of four private eſtates.

Fernambucca itſelf was given, in 1527, to Edward Coelho; and was reunited to the crown as a conqueſt, after the Dutch had been driven from it in 1654.

The hiſtorian De Barros obtained the diſtrict of Paraiba from John III., but he neglected the peopling of it. Some vagabonds went over in 1560, and in 1591 were ſubdued by the French, who were ſoon obliged to evacuate it. Philip III. cauſed a city to be erected upon this royal domain, which is at preſent known by the name of Notre Dame de Neves.

The property of Rio-Grande, a diſtrict which had till then been entirely neglected, was ceded to Emanuel Jordan in 1654. The ſhipwreck of this enterpriſing man, at the entrance of the harbour, reſtored to the hands of government, lands, which were ſoon after cultivated by ſome individuals.

It is not known at what time, nor to whom, Tamaraca had been granted; but it became a national poſſeſſion again ſoon after the elevation of the houſe of Braganza to the throne of Portugal.

This flouriſhing government is at preſent ſurrounded by the river St. Francis, and by ſeveral branches of the Cordeleirias. The coaſts afford a ſmall quantity of cotton. In no country of theſe regions ſugar is to be found in ſuch great perfection as upon thoſe plains which are well watered. The mountains are covered with horned cattle, which ſupply a great quantity of leather. This diſtrict alone furniſhes the Brazil wood.

The tree which it is taken from is not perfectly known by the botaniſts. It is, however, believed, that it is in ſome reſpects analogous to the *breſillet* of the Antilles, and to the tara, or poinciana ſpinoſa, of Peru. Thoſe who have deſcribed it affirm, that it is tall, very branchy, and covered with a brown bark full of thorns. Its leaves are compoſed of a common coſta, which ſupports from four to ſix other coſtæ, furniſhed with two rows of ſmall green leaves, ſhining, and reſembling the leaves of box. The flowers, diſpoſed in cluſters towards the extremity of the branches, are ſmall, and more odoriferous than thoſe of the lily: they have a calix with five diviſions, ten ſtamina, and five petals, four of which are yellow, and the fifth is of a beautiful red colour. Their piſtil becomes an oblong flattened pod, ſtuck full of points, and filled with ſome red ſeeds.

The bark of this tree is ſo thick, that the wood is reduced almoſt to nothing when ſtripped of it. This wood is very fit for works of turnery, and takes a good poliſh: but its principal uſe is in the red dye, where it ſupplies the place of double the quantity of logwood. The moſt arid ſoils, and the moſt craggy rocks, are the places which it chiefly delights in.

The trade of this wood is monopolized, and it belongs to the queen's houſehold. The firſt dealers in this article agreed to receive annually in the magazines of government, where it is depoſited, thirty thouſand quintals of it, at 30 livres [1l. 5s.] the quintal. It was diſcovered, after ſeveral experiments, that this quantity was not conſumed in Europe; and they were obliged to take no more than twenty thouſand quintals; but it was raiſed to 40 livres [1l. 13s. 4d.] the quintal. Such is the preſent contract, which is in the hands of two Engliſhmen ſettled in Portugal. They give 800,000 livres [33,333l. 6s. 8d.] for the wood with which they are furniſhed, and ſell it at Liſbon itſelf for 1,000,000 livres [41,666l. 13s. 4d.]. The expences they are at amount to 128,000 livres [5333l. 6s. 8d.]; and therefore the profits are 72,000 livres [3000l.].

The population of Fernambucca conſiſts of nineteen thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-five white men, thirty-nine thouſand one hundred and thirty-two Negroes or Mulattoes, and thirty-three thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-eight Indians. There are four harbours fit to receive ſmall veſſels. That where the ſhoal is, which is the port of Olinda, can admit larger ſhips; but they are neither conveniently ſituated, nor in ſafety.

The iſland of Fernando de Noronha is at ſixty leagues diſtance from theſe coaſts of Fernambucca; but it is under its dependence. The Portugueſe, who had at firſt ſettled there, ſoon forſook it; but in 1738, the court of Liſbon, ſuſpecting that the French Eaſt India Company meant to take poſſeſſion of it, built ſeven forts there, conſtructed with great ſkill. They are provided with artillery, and defended with a garriſon of regular troops, which is relieved every ſix months. There are no other inhabitants but a few exiles, a ſmall number of very indigent Meſtees, and the Indians who are employed in the public labours. Though this ſoil be deep and good, no kind of cultivation hath ever ſucceeded there, becauſe the rains do not fall for three or four years together. From the month of December till the month of April, turtles are the only food; after that time they diſappear, and the inhabitants have no reſource but in the proviſions ſent from the continent. There are two harbours for foreign veſſels in the iſland, where ſhips of all rates are in ſafety, when north and weſt winds do not prevail.

State of the government of Bahia.

The government of Bahia is encloſed by the river St. Francis on the north, by the river Doce on the ſouth, and by the river Preto, one of the arms of the Green River, on the eaſt. It conſiſts of the captainſhip of Xegerippe, the revolutions of which are not known to us; of the captainſhip of Itheos, of which George de Figueredo was deprived, after its deſtruction by the Aimorés Indians; of the captainſhip of Porto Seguro, which returned to the crown after the extinction of the family of the Tourinhos; and of the country of Bahia, which was never a private property.

San Salvador, the capital of this ſettlement, was for a long time that of all the Brazils. The way to it is by the bay of All Saints, which is two leagues and a half broad at the entrance. On each ſide ſtands a fortreſs, intended rather to prevent landing, than to hinder ſhips from paſſing by. It is thirteen or fourteen leagues in length, and interſperſed with little iſlands, which are full of cotton trees, and form an agreeable proſpect. It grows narrow towards the bottom, which is ſheltered from every attack, and makes an excellent harbour for the moſt numerous fleets. The town commands this harbour, being built on the ſlope of a ſteep hill.

This city contains two thouſand houſes, which are moſt of them built with great magnificence. The furniture here is the more rich and elegant, as extravagance in dreſs is ſtrictly prohibited. By a very old law, which hath often been broken, and which extends to the New World ſince the year 1749, the Portugueſe are forbidden to wear any gold or ſilver ſtuffs, or any laced clothes; but their paſſion for ſhow, which no laws can eradicate, hath induced them to contrive ſome ſubſtitute, and to wear diamond croſſes, medals, and chaplets, or beads, the rich enſigns of a poor religion. The gold they cannot wear themſelves, they laviſh to adorn their domeſtic ſlaves.

As the ſituation of the town will not admit of coaches, the rich, who will always be diſtinguiſhed from the vulgar, have contrived to be carried in cotton hammocks. Supinely ſtretched upon velvet cuſhions, and ſurrounded with ſilken curtains, which they open and ſhut at pleaſure, thoſe proud and lazy mortals move about more voluptuouſly, though with leſs expedition, than in the moſt eaſy and elegant carriages.

The women ſeldom enjoy this luxury. Theſe people, who are ſuperſtitious to a degree of fanaticiſm, will hardly allow them to go to church, covered with their cloaks, on high feſtivals; and no one is ſuffered to ſee them in their own houſes. This reſtraint, which is the effect of an ungovernable jealouſy, doth not prevent them from carrying on intrigues, though they are ſure of being ſtabbed to death upon the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion. By a lenity more judicious than ours, a girl who, without her mother's conſent, or even under her protection, yields to the importunities of a lover, is treated with leſs ſeverity. But if the father cannot conceal her infamy, by diſpoſing of her in marriage, he abandons her to the ſcandalous trade of a courtezan. Thus it is that riches bring on a train of vices and corruption, eſpecially when they are acquired by bloodſhed and murder, and are not preſerved by labour.

The want of ſociety, conſequent upon the ſeparation of the ſexes, is not the only impediment to the pleaſures and enjoyments of life at Bahia. The hypocriſy of ſome, the ſuperſtition of others; avarice within, and pompous parade without; extreme effeminacy, bordering upon extreme cruelty, in a climate where all the ſenſations are quick and impetuous; the diſtruſt that attends weakneſs; the indolence that truſts every thing to ſlaves, whether it relate to pleaſure or buſineſs; all the vices that are to be found, either ſeparately or collectively, in the moſt corrupt ſouthern countries, conſtitute the character of the Portugueſe at Bahia. However, the depravity of their manners ſeems to decreaſe, ſince they are become rather more enlightened. The acquiſition of knowledge, the abuſe of which will ſometimes corrupt virtuous nations, may refine, if not reform, a degenerate nation; it will at leaſt make crimes leſs frequent, will caſt a varniſh of elegance over corruption, and will introduce an hypocritical kind of urbanity, and a contempt for the groſſer vices.

Though San Salvador be no longer the capital of the Brazils, yet the province is ſtill the moſt populous of the colony. It conſiſts of thirty-nine thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-four white men, and ſixty eight thouſand and twenty-four Negroes. It ſhares with the other colonies the culture of ſugar, cotton, and of ſome other productions; and hath the advantage over them of the fiſhery, and of tobacco.

The whale-fiſhery hath been very anciently eſtabliſhed in the Brazils. All the Portugueſe of the Old and of the New World had enjoyed, from its firſt riſe, the natural rights of this fiſhery; but it hath been, for a long time paſt, ſubjected to an excluſive privilege, purchaſed by a Company formed at Liſbon, whoſe ſhips are freighted at Bahia. Its annual produce conſiſts, at preſent, of three thouſand five hundred and thirty pipes of oil, which, at the rate of 175 livres [7l. 5s. 10d.] the pipe, amounts to 617,750 livres [25,740l. 1s. 8d.]; and of two thouſand and ninety quintals of whalebone, which, at the rate of 150 livres [6l. 5s.] the quintal, amount to 313,500 livres [13,062l. 10s.] Theſe two ſums added together, amount to 931,250 livres [38,802l. 1s. 8d.]. The monopolizers give to government 300,000 livres [12,500l.]. Their expences do not exceed 268,750 livres [11,198l. 8s. 4d.]; and their profits amount to 362,500 livres [15,154l. 3s. 4d.].

This branch of induſtry muſt be entirely given up, unleſs it be immediately put upon a different footing. Nothing but an unlimited freedom of trade can poſſibly ſuſtain the competition of the American traders, whoſe activity hath already extended itſelf as far as thoſe diſtant ſeas, and ſtill beyond them. The court of Liſbon ought even to encourage, by all poſſible means, the whale-fiſhery in the Cape de Verde Iſlands, and in the other iſlands near the burning ſhores of Africa, which are at preſent ſo uſeleſs to them.

Though moſt of the countries of Brazil furniſh a ſmall quantity of tobacco, it may be ſaid, that this article hath not become an object of conſequence any where, except at Bahia. It thrives in a ſpace of ninety leagues, and in the diſtrict of Cachoeira ſtill better than in any other place. This production had for a long time been enriching the province, when the taxes with which it was loaded, on its exportation from Portugal, raiſed its price ſo high as to prevent the conſumption of it. There was ſo little demand for it in foreign markets, that in 1773, the cargoes of it did not exceed eight-and twenty thouſand quintals. The year following, the duties, which amounted to 27 livres 12 ſols [1l. 3s.] per hundred weight, were ſuppreſſed, and this cultivation immediately recovered its former proſperity. The coloniſt then received for this commodity 22 livres 16 ſols [19s.] per quintal, inſtead of 12 livres 10 ſols [10s. 5d.], which he received before.

Ten thouſand quintals of inferior tobacco are ſent annually from the Brazils to the coaſts of Africa, which being purchaſed in the colony itſelf, even at the rate of 18 livres [15s.] per hundred weight, bring in 180,000 livres [7500l.]. Fifty-eight thouſand five hundred quintals are ſent into Portugal, which, at their firſt entrance into the country, are ſold for 40 livres [1l. 13s. 4d.] the hundred weight; the total value of which is 2,340,000 livres [97,500l.], and the two ſums put together, amount to 2,520,000 livres [105,000l.].

Every ſpeculator is allowed to purchaſe the tobacco that is conveyed to the mother-country; but it muſt be depoſited in a public warehouſe, where it pays two ſols ſix deniers [about five farthings] per quintal to the government for ſtore-room. From this warehouſe is taken that quantity of tobacco which the kingdom is not in want of, and which is to be diſpoſed of to foreign nations. Genoa purchaſes that of the beſt quality. Spain, as well as Portugal, conſumes only the ſecond ſort, and Hamburgh is ſatisfied with the moſt inferior kind of tobacco. It is this which is alſo purchaſed by the French, and other navigators who are in want of it for their Negro trade.

The purchaſer freely applies to the merchants in whom he confides; but the court of Madrid, who never have any tobacco bought but for ſmoking, uſually employ only one agent, to whom they pay for it at the rate of nine ſols [4½d.] the pound.

Portugal, Madeira, and the Azores, where the tobacco is equally monopolized by the crown, do not conſume annually, for ſmoking, more than ſeven hundred thouſand weight of it, which, at the rate of five livres [4s. 2d.] the pound, muſt amount to 3,520,000 livres [146,666l. 13s. 4d.]; and in ſnuff, only five hundred and twenty-eight thouſand pounds, which, at the rate of ſeven livres ten ſols [6s. 3d.] per pound, muſt produce 3,960,000 livres [165,000l.]; ſo that the whole amount of this article is 7,480,000 livres [311,666l. 13s. 4d.]. The government, however, does not receive more than 5,481,250 livres [228,385l. 8s. 4d.]. The remainder of the ſum is expended in the purchaſe of materials, the expences of preparing the tobacco, and the profits of the people who farm it.

The ſnuff which is conſumed in Africa, and in the Eaſt Indies, is likewiſe under the yoke of monopoly; but it is the queen's revenue. She receives 450,000 livres [18,750l.] for one hundred and fifty quintals, which are annually ſent to thoſe diſtant regions; excluſive of the profits which muſt ariſe from the ſale of the pepper that is ſent from Goa in exchange.

State of the government of Rio Janeiro.

The government of Rio Janeiro almoſt totally occupies the long coaſt, which commences at the river Doce, and ends at that of Rio Grande of St. Peter; and in the inland countries, it is bounded only by the enormous chain of mountains which extends from Una to Minas-Geraes. It has abſorbed the captainſhips of St. Eſprit, of Cabofrio, and of the South Paraiba, granted by government at different periods, and which have fallen in again in ſeveral ways to the domains of the crown.

The cultures remained for a long time in a languid ſtate, in this ſpacious and beautiful province: but they daily acquire ſome importance. Tobacco, indeed, is neither better, nor in greater plenty, than it was formerly; but for theſe three years paſt the ſugar-canes have multiplied there, and more eſpecially in the plains of Guatacazes. Twelve modern plantations of excellent indigo, announce a more conſiderable number, and a tolerable quantity of coffee hath been brought from thence by the laſt ſhips. The ſouthern diſtricts of the colony, as far as Rio Grande, furniſh a great many hides, ſome flour, and very good ſalt proviſions. There are fourteen or fifteen different kinds of wood for dyeing, which will ſoon be cut down; and ſeven or eight ſorts of gums, which will at laſt be gathered. Two plants were diſcovered at Bahia, about twenty years ago, which are known by the names of Curuata and Tocum, and which might be employed for ſails and cordage. A ſmall ſhrub, infinitely more fit for theſe purpoſes, hath been lately diſcovered on the territory of Rio Janeiro, and is very common. It is ſometimes white, ſometimes yellow, and ſometimes purple; but the firſt of theſe colours is the beſt.

There is no deficiency of hands for the carrying on the labours. The province reckons forty-ſix thouſand two hundred and ſeventy-one white men, thirty-two thouſand one hundred and twenty-ſix Indians, and fifty-four thouſand and ninety-one Negroes.

The riches that are produced by the labours of theſe men, either free or ſlaves, are carried to Rio Janeiro, formerly the capital of all the Brazils, and the place of the viceroy's reſidence.

It is one of the fineſt harbours that is known; though narrow at its beginning, it widens gradually. Ships of all denominations enter it with eaſe, from ten or twelve o'clock in the morning, till the evening, and are carried in by a regular and moderate ſea breeze. It is ſpacious, ſafe, and convenient. It hath an excellent bottom of mud, and five or ſix fathom of water in every part.

It was firſt diſcovered in 1525 by Dias de Solis. Some French Proteſtants, who were perſecuted in their own country, made a ſmall ſettlement there under the guidance of Villegagnon. This ſettlement conſiſted only of fifteen or twenty huts, made of boughs and covered over with graſs, after the manner of the ſavages in thoſe parts. Some ſmall bulwarks that were erected for planting of cannon, occaſioned the name of Fort Coligni to be given to it. It was deſtroyed three years after by Emanuel de Sa, who, in a fertile ſoil, under a beautiful ſky, and at the foot of ſeveral mountains, which are diſpoſed in form of an amphitheatre, laid the foundation of a city, which is become famous, ſince ſome conſiderable mines have been diſcovered in its neighbourhood.

This city is the grand ſtaple of the riches which flow from the Brazils to Portugal, and the harbour where the fineſt fleets deſtined for the ſupply of that part of the New World put in. Beſide the treaſures that this continual circulation muſt produce, 3,000,000 livres [125,000l.] remain there every year for the expences of government, and a much larger ſum, when the miniſtry of Liſbon think it ſuitable to their ſyſtem of politics to have men of war built there.

A town, where buſineſs is ſo conſiderable and ſo conſtant, muſt have been ſucceſſively enlarged and peopled. Moſt of the citizens live in houſes two ſtories high, built with freeſtone, or bricks, covered with tolerably fine ſlate, and ornamented with a balcony, ſurrounded with lattices. It is at theſe balconies that the women, either by themſelves, or attended by their ſlaves, make their appearance; it is from thence that they caſt flowers on the men whom they chooſe to diſtinguiſh, and upon thoſe whom they wiſh to invite to the moſt intimate connection between the two ſexes. The ſtreets are large and even, terminated by a chapel, where the people ſing hymns every evening before a ſaint, magnificently habited, and fixed up in a gilded nitch, well illuminated, and covered with the cleareſt mirror. There is no public edifice worthy of attention, except a large aqueduct, which conveys the water from the neighbouring heights, and the mint. The churches are all gloomy, low, and overcharged with ornaments, executed without taſte.

The morals are the ſame at Rio Janeiro as at Bahia, and in all the mine countries. Similar thefts, ſimilar treaſons, ſimilar revenges, and ſimilar exceſſes of all kinds prevail, and with equal impunity.

It hath properly been ſaid, that gold was the repreſentative of all kinds of riches; but it might have been added, that it was likewiſe the repreſentative of happineſs and misfortune, of almoſt all the vices, and of almoſt all the virtues: for what good or bad action cannot be done by means of gold? It cannot, therefore, be ſurpriſing that nothing ſhould be a check upon us in our attempts to obtain ſo important an object! It cannot be ſurpriſing, that, when obtained, it ſhould become the ſource of the moſt fatal abuſes, and that theſe abuſes ſhould be multiplied in proportion to the vicinity and to the abundance of this precious and pernicious metal.

The ſituation of the city, in twenty-two degrees twenty minutes of ſouthern latitude, placed it at ſuch a diſtance from the Old World, that it might have been preſumed moderate fortifications only would be required for its defence; but as the temptation for attacking it might become greater, in proportion to the increaſe of its riches, it was thought proper to add to the works. Theſe were already very conſiderable, when Du Guay-Trouin took it in 1711, with ſuch intrepidity and ſkill, as redounded much to his honour, and was a great addition to the fame he had already acquired. The new fortifications that have ſince been added to thoſe the French had maſtered, have not made the town more impregnable, as it may be attacked on other ſides, where the landing is very practicable. If gold can make its way into brazen towers through iron gates, much more will iron break down the gates that defend gold and diamonds. And, indeed, the court of Liſbon has not thought it ſufficient to fortify Rio Janeiro.

In the government of Rio Janeiro, we meet with the iſland of St. Catherine, nine leagues in length, and two in breadth, and ſeparated from the continent by a narrow channel. Though the land be not low, it is not ſeen at a diſtance, becauſe it is ſhaded by the neighbouring mountains on the continent. Navigators find there a perpetual ſpring, excellent water, great plenty of wood, a variety of delicious fruits, vegetables, which are ſo welcome to ſailors, and a pure air, except in the harbour, where the hills intercept the circulation of air, and make it conſtantly damp and unwholeſome.

Towards the year 1654, the court of Liſbon gave Saint Catherine to Francis Dias Velho, in the ſame manner as the other countries in Brazil had been ceded. This captain was killed by an Engliſh pirate; and his iſland became the refuge of vagabonds. Theſe adventurers acknowledged, in a vague manner, the authority of Portugal, but did not adopt the excluſive ſyſtem of that ſtate. They admitted indiſcriminately the ſhips of all nations that were ſailing to the South Seas, or to India, and gave them their oxen, their fruits, their pulſe, and all their productions, in exchange for arms, brandy, linen, and wearing apparel. Beſide their contempt for gold, they ſhowed an indifference for all the conveniences that nature did not ſupply them with, which would have done honour to a virtuous people.

The ſcum and refuſe of civilized bodies may ſometimes form a well regulated ſociety. The iniquity of our laws, the unjuſt diſtribution of property, the miſeries of want, the inſolence and impunity of wealth, and the abuſe of power, often make rebels and criminals. If we collect together all thoſe unfortunate men who are baniſhed from ſociety by the too great rigour, and often the injuſtice, of the laws, and give them an intrepid, generous, humane, and enlightened chief, we ſhall make theſe profligate men become honeſt, tractable, and rational. If their neceſſities urge them to war, they will become conquerors; and to aggrandiſe themſelves they will violate the rights of nations, though ſtrict obſervers of their own reciprocal duties: ſuch were the Romans. If, for want of an able leader, they be left to chance and natural events, they will be miſchievous, reſtleſs, rapacious, unſettled, for ever at war, either among themſelves or with their neighbours: ſuch were the Pauliſts. Laſtly, if they can more eaſily live upon the natural fruits of the earth, or by agriculture and trade, than by plunder, they will contract the virtues proper to their ſituation, and the mild inclinations that ariſe from a rational love of eaſe. Civilized by the happineſs and ſecurity of an honeſt and peaceable life, they will reſpect in others thoſe rights which they themſelves enjoy, and will barter the ſuperfluities of their produce for the conveniences of other nations: ſuch were the people who had taken refuge at St. Catherine's.

They lived with freedom and tranquillity, when, towards the year 1738, it was thought proper to give them an adminiſtration, to ſend them troops, and to ſurround their harbour, which was one of the beſt in America, with fortifications. Theſe means of defence have drawn upon them, in 1778, the arms of Spain, and have not preſerved them from an invaſion. Since they are returned under the dominion of their former maſter, in conſequence of the reconciliation between the two crowns, they have acquired the cochineal, from which they expect great advantages in future.

The town of St. Paul is thirteen leagues diſtant from the ocean, in a delightful climate, and in the midſt of a country equally favourable for the productions of the two hemiſpheres. It was built about the year 1570, by the malefactors with which Portugal had infeſted the coaſts of the New World. No ſooner did theſe villains perceive that it was intended to ſubject them to ſome ſyſtem of police, than they abandoned the ſhores upon which they had been caſt by chance, and took refuge on ſome diſtant ſpot, where the power of the laws could not reach them. A ſituation which a ſmall number of men could defend againſt a greater number of troops than could be ſent againſt them, inſpired them with the boldneſs of determining to be their own maſters; and their ambition was crowned with ſucceſs. They were recruited and multiplied by other banditti, and by the deſcendants proceeding from their connections with the women of the country. It is ſaid that all travellers were ſtrictly forbidden to enter this new republic. To obtain an admittance, it was previouſly neceſſary to promiſe to ſettle there; and candidates were to undergo a ſevere trial. Thoſe who could not go through that kind of noviciate, or who were ſuſpected of perfidy, were barbarouſly murdered, as were likewiſe all who ſhowed any inclination to quit the ſettlement.

A pure air, a ſerene ſky, a very temperate climate, though in the 24th degree of ſouth latitude, and a land abounding with corn, ſugar, and excellent paſture; all theſe circumſtances conſpired to induce the Pauliſts to lead a life of indolence, eaſe, and effeminacy; but that reſtleſſneſs ſo natural to reſolute banditti; that deſire of dominion which is nearly connected with a love of independence; the advances of liberty, which lead men to wiſh for glory of ſome kind or other, and to diſtinguiſh themſelves; perhaps, all theſe motives combined, prompted them to forego an eaſy life, and to engage in hazardous and troubleſome excurſions.

They over-ran all the inland parts of the Brazils, from one extremity to the other. All the Indians who reſiſted them were put to death; fetters were the portion of cowards; and ſeveral of the inhabitants hid themſelves in the mountains, to avoid ſlavery or death. It would be impoſſible to enumerate the devaſtations, cruelties, and enormities, of which theſe atrocious men were guilty. In the midſt of theſe horrors, however, ſome colonies were forming under a municipal government, which may be conſidered as the origin of all the ſettlements Portugal is at preſent in poſſeſſion of in thoſe territories. Theſe ſmall republics, detached, in ſome meaſure, from the great one, gradually yielded to the entreaties that were made uſe of, in order that they ſhould be ſubjected to an authority which they had never entirely diſavowed; and, in proceſs of time, the Pauliſts ſubmitted to the crown in the ſame manner as the other ſubjects.

That diſtrict then became a government; to which were added, the captainſhips of St. Vincent and of St. Amaro, which had been given to the two brothers, Alphonſo and Peter Lopès de Souſa, their two towns having been deſtroyed by pirates. This arrangement, for which it is difficult to aſſign a cauſe, divides the province of Rio Janeiro in two parts.

The country of St. Paul does not at preſent conſiſt of more than eleven thouſand and ninety-three white men, thirty-two thouſand one hundred and twenty-ſix Indians, and eighty-ſeven Negroes, or Mulattoes. It ſends nothing to Europe, except a ſmall quantity of cotton; and its inland trade is confined to the furniſhing of Rio Janeiro with flour and ſalt proviſions. It hath been found by ſome, that flax and hemp would ſucceed very well there; and there is no doubt of its being as eaſy and important to grow ſilk in the country. The plentiful mines of iron and tin, which are found between the rivers Thecte and Mogyaſſu, in the Cordeleirias of Paranan-Piacaba, at the diſtance of four leagues from Sorocoba, might alſo be worked to great advantage.

State of the three inland governments where the mines are ſituated.

The ſix provinces we have juſt been ſpeaking of are ſituated along the coaſts: there are three others, extending from the Weſt to the Eaſt, which occupy, in the centre of the Brazils, the large plain from which all the rivers ſpring that empty themſelves into the Paraguai, into the Amazon, and into the Ocean. It is the moſt elevated ſpot of Portugueſe America, and is filled with mountains, running in various directions. Gold is found almoſt throughout the whole of it; for which reaſon it is called the mine country.

The moſt important of theſe rich governments is known by the name of Minas Geraes. It reckons thirty-five thouſand one hundred and twenty-eight white men, twenty-ſix thouſand and ſeventy-five Indians, and one hundred and eight thouſand four hundred and ſix ſlaves. Its capital is Villa Rica.

Joyas, the capital of which is Villa Boa, contains eight thouſand nine hundred and thirty-one white men, twenty-nine thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-two Indians, and thirty-four thouſand one hundred and four Negroes.

Matto Groſſo, the only village of which is Villa Bella, hath not yet increaſed its population beyond two thouſand and thirty-five white men, four thouſand three hundred and thirty-five Indians, and ſeven thouſand three hundred and fifty-one ſlaves. It is the moſt weſtern part of the Portugueſe dominions. It is bounded by the Chiquitos, and by the Maxos, who were ſubjected to Spain by the labours of the Jeſuits.

History of the gold mines found in the Brazils. The manner of working them.

The knowledge of the gold mines, in this part of the New World, is traced to much more diſtant periods than is generally thought. As far back as the year 1577, the Pauliſts diſcovered ſome near the mountains of Jaguara; but the unfortunate death of King Sebaſtian ſoon occaſioned this ſource of wealth, which at that time had not been of any great advantage either to the ſtate or to individuals, to be forgotten.

In the heights of Jacobino, in the diſtrict of Rio das Velhas, new mines were again diſcovered in 1588, and to as little effect. Philip II. being determined to contain by miſery people who bore the Spaniſh yoke with too much impatience, would not permit them to be worked. If he apparently conſented to this, in 1603, it was with a reſolution to prevent it; and his baſe ſucceſſors adopted his tyrannical policy.

The fortunate revolution which, in 1640, freed the Portugueſe of their fetters, was followed by long and obſtinate wars. During the courſe of this violent criſis, the attention of the nation was wholly taken up in the defence of its liberty, and the miniſtry were always engaged in looking out for the reſources of which they were continually in want.

The ſtate of the monarchy began to be ſearched into, and its improvement to be thought of; when, in 1699, chance offered to ſome enterpriſing men great treaſures in the province of Minas Geraes. The gifts of bounteous nature were no more diſregarded; and, three years after, the court of Liſbon formed the ſettlements that were neceſſary to ſecure the benefit of them. Sabara, Rio das Mortes, Cachoeira, Paracatu, Do Carmo, Rio das Velhas, Rio Doce, and Auro Preto, are the places in that government where gold hath been ſucceſſively found, and where it is ſtill diſcovered at this day.

The mines of Goyas were not diſcovered till 1726:

they are ſituated in the diſtricts of San Felix, Meia Ponta, O Fanado, Mocambo, and Natividade.

In the year 1735, new ones were found in the province of Matto Groſſo, at St. Vincent, at Chapada, at St. Anne, at Cuiaba, and at Araès.

Beſide theſe countries, which are called by preference, the Mine Regions, the mines of Jacobino and of Rio das Contas are worked in the government of Bahia, as are alſo thoſe of Parnaguay, and Tibogy, in the government of St. Paul; but neither of them are very abundant.

The extraction of gold is neither very laborious, nor dangerous, in thoſe parts of the New World. It is ſometimes on the ſurface of the ſoil, and this is the pureſt kind; and, at other times, it is neceſſary to dig for it to the depth of three or four fathoms, but ſeldom lower. A layer of ſandy earth, known in the country by the name of *Saibro*, then uſually informs the miners that it would be uſeleſs to ſearch any further. Although, in general, the veins that are regular, and in the ſame direction, be the richeſt, it hath been obſerved, that thoſe ſpaces, the ſurface of which was moſt ſpangled with cryſtals, were thoſe which furniſhed the greateſt plenty of gold. It is found in larger pieces upon the mountains, and barren or ſtony rocks, than in the valleys, or on the borders of rivers. But whatever place it may have been gathered in, it is of three-and-twenty carats and a half on coming out of the mine, unleſs it be mixed with ſulphur, ſilver, iron, or mercury; a circumſtance that is common only at Goyas and Araès.

Every man who diſcovers a mine, muſt give notice of it to government. If the vein be thought of little conſequence, by perſons of the art appointed to examine it, it is always given up to the public. If it be declared to be a rich vein, the government reſerve a portion of it to themſelves. Another ſhare is given to the commandant; a third to the intendant, and two ſhares are ſecured to the diſcoverer; the reſt is divided amongſt all the miners of the diſtrict, in proportion to their circumſtances, which are determined by the number of their ſlaves. The diſputes which this ſpecies of property may give riſe to, are under the cognizance of the intendant: but an appeal lies from his decrees to the ſupreme court eſtabliſhed at Liſbon, under the title of Council *d'Outremer*.

The miners are obliged to deliver to the king the fifth part of the gold, which they extract by operations more or leſs ſucceſsful. This fifth was formerly conſiderable, as it exceeded 9,000,000 of livres [375,000l.] annually, from the year 1728 to 1734; but it hath ſince gradually decreaſed. At preſent the annual produce of Minas Geraes amounts only to 18,750,000 livres [781,250l.]; that of Goyas to 4,687,500 livres [195,312l. 10s.]; that of Matto Groſſo to 1,312,500 livres [54,687l. 10s.]; and that of Bahia and St. Paul together, only to 1,562,500 livres [65,104l. 3s. 4d.]. This makes, upon the whole, 25,312,500 livres [1,054,687l. 10s.], of which the government receives 5,062,500 livres [210,937l. 10s.]. The duties for the working of the gold into ſpecie yield 1,647,500 livres [68,645l. 16s. 8d.]; and, at the rate of 2 per cent. they get 393,000 livres [16,375l.] for the conveyance, which is executed by their ſhips, of all the gold that belongs to trade; ſo that upon the 25,312,500 [1,054,687l. 10s.] which the mines produce, the miniſtry take 7,103,000 livres [295,958l. 6s. 8d.]. They would even receive ſomething more, if to the amount of about 600,000 livres [25,000l.] were not annually ſmuggled without paying the two laſt mentioned taxes.

The amount of all the metals conſtantly circulating in the Brazils is not computed at more than 20,000,000 livres [833,333l. 6s. 8d.]

The firſt political writers who turned their thoughts towards the diſcoveries made in this region of the New World, did not heſitate to foretel, that the difference of value between gold and ſilver would be diminiſhed. The experience of all countries and of all ages had taught them, that though many ounces of ſilver had always been given for an ounce of gold, becauſe mines of the former had always been more common than of the latter, yet the value of both metals had varied in every country, in proportion to the abundance of either.

In Japan, the proportion of gold to ſilver is as one to eight; in China, as one to ten; in other parts of India, as one to eleven, twelve, thirteen, or fourteen, as we advance further weſt.

The like variations are to be met with in Europe. In ancient Greece, gold was to ſilver as one to thirteen. When the produce of all the mines in the univerſe was brought to Rome, the miſtreſs of the world, the moſt ſettled proportion was one to ten. It roſe as far as one to thirteen under Tiberius. Numberleſs and infinite variations are to be met with in the barbarous ages. In a word, when Columbus penetrated into America, the proportion was leſs than one to twelve.

The quantity of theſe metals, which was then brought from Mexico and Peru, not only made them more common, but ſtill increaſed the value of gold above ſilver, as there was greater plenty of the latter in thoſe parts. Spain, that was of courſe the beſt judge of the proportion, ſettled it as one to ſixteen in the coin of the kingdom; and this ſyſtem, with ſome ſlight variations, was adopted throughout Europe.

This proportion ſtill exiſts; but we have no reaſon on that account to contradict thoſe who had foretold that it would alter. If gold hath fallen but little in the markets, and not at all in the coin, ſince the Brazils furniſh a great quantity of it, this is owing to particular circumſtances, which do not affect the principle. A great deal of gold is now uſed for ſetting of jewels, and for gilding, which has prevented the price of it from falling ſo much as it would have done if our faſhions had not altered. It is this ſame ſpirit of luxury that hath always kept up the price of diamonds, though they are grown more common.

Hiſtory of the diamond mines diſcovered

At all times men have affected to make a parade of their riches, either becauſe they were originally the reward of ſtrength and the mark of power, or becauſe

In the Brazils. Remarks upon the nature of that ſtone.

they have every where obtained that regard, which is due only to abilities and virtue. A deſire of attracting the attention of others, prompts a man to ornament himſelf with the choiceſt and moſt brilliant things nature can ſupply. The ſame vanity, in this reſpect, prevails among the ſavages as in civilized nations. Of all the ſubſtances that repreſent the ſplendour of opulence, none is ſo precious as the diamond; nor hath any been of ſuch value in trade, or ſo ornamental in ſociety. Our women are ſometimes dazzling with them. It ſhould ſeem as if they were more anxious to appear rich than handſome. Are they not then ſenſible, that a neck and an arm elegantly turned, are a thouſand times more attracting when uncovered, than when they are concealed under jewels? that the weight of their ear-rings disfigures their ears? that the luſtre of the diamond only diminiſhes that of their eyes? that this expenſive dreſs is rather a ſatire upon their huſbands or their lovers, than an encomium upon their charms? that the Venus de Medicis hath nothing but a plain bracelet? and that he who only admires in a fine woman the brilliancy of her jewels, is a man devoid of taſte?

There are diamonds of all colours, and of every ſhade of the ſeveral colours. The diamond hath the red of the ruby, the orange of the hyacinth, the blue of the ſapphire, and the green of the emerald. This laſt is the moſt ſcarce, and the deareſt when it is of a beautiful tint. The roſe diamonds, blue and yellow, are the next in value. The yellowiſh and the blackiſh are leaſt eſteemed. Tranſparency and clearneſs are the natural and eſſential properties of the diamond, to which art hath added the brilliant and ſparkling luſtre of the ſeveral faces.

The diamond is a cryſtallized ſtone, of the form of an octohedron, more or leſs well-ſhaped. Its ſurfaces are in the ſhape of a pyramid, either long or flat; but its ſolid angles are never ſo clearly nor ſo regularly terminated, as they appear in the other cryſtallized ſtones, and eſpecially in the rock cryſtal.

But this does not prevent its cryſtallization from being regular in the inſide. This ſtone is compoſed of ſmall layers, exceedingly thin, and ſo cloſely joined together as to form a ſmooth and brilliant ſurface, even at the parts where they are broken. Notwithſtanding this very cloſe connection between the elements of cryſtallization in the diamond, it can only be poliſhed by finding out the diſpoſition of the layers in their tranſverſe direction, at the point where the extreme end of one layer lies over the other. Without this precaution, the lapidaries would not ſucceed, and the diamond would not take the poliſh, as is always the caſe with thoſe which they call *veiny diamonds*, in which theſe extremities are not uniform, and in the ſame direction. The diamond-cutters compare the compoſition of theſe ſtones to the arrangement of the fibres of wood in the knotty parts, where they interſect each other in every direction.

The diamond is ſuperior to any other precious ſtone, in its luſtre, its fire, and its ſolidity. To theſe advantages are added thoſe of being more electrical, of receiving a greater quantity of light, when gently warmed by the fire, or expoſed to the rays of the ſun, and of retaining this light longer than other bodies, when it is afterwards placed in the dark. Theſe properties, and perhaps likewiſe ſome imaginary qualities, have induced natural philoſophers to think, that the diamond was formed of a more pure ſubſtance than any other ſtone. Several perſons have even imagined it contained ſome of that primitive adamitical earth, which hath been for ſo long a time the object of ſo many laborious inquiries and extravagant ſpeculations.

The hardneſs of the diamond ſuggeſted the idea of its being impoſſible to be deſtroyed, even by the moſt intenſe fire; and this opinion appeared to be very well founded. Notwithſtanding this, the analogy upon this point, deduced from other ſtones, and eſpecially from thoſe that are compoſed of quartz, which do not undergo any alteration by fire, was never more defective than in this inſtance.

There are no accounts of the diamond having been ſubmitted to the action of fire previous to the years 1694 and 1695, when the celebrated Averani expoſed one to the focus of a burning-glaſs, for the information of his pupil John Gaſton de Medicis. The celebrated natural philoſophers of thoſe times, who aſſiſted at this experiment, beheld with aſtoniſhment that the diamond was exhaled in vapour, and diſappeared entirely, while the ruby, of a leſs compact texture than the diamond, only grew ſofter; and while other precious ſtones, of a ſtill ſofter texture, did not experience ſuch conſiderable alterations. This ſingular experiment was repeated upon ſeveral diamonds with equal ſucceſs; but the intenſeneſs of the fire employed was a convincing proof that it could not have been done by any other means. Theſe firſt experiments were buried in oblivion, till the reign of the Emperor Francis I. who repeated them at Vienna; expoſing diamonds, and other precious ſtones, to the moſt intenſe fire of a furnace. The reſult was a confirmation of the fact, that diamonds are deſtroyed with the greateſt eaſe by fire, while other precious ſtones, even thoſe of the ſofteſt kind, are at moſt but ſlightly affected.

The facts, though well atteſted, appeared ſo extraordinary, and were ſo contrary to the received prejudices, that they ſunk again into oblivion. Though recorded by the cotemporary writers, they were nevertheleſs either unknown, or denied by thoſe who had not been witneſſes of them.

At length M. Darcet undertook in France, in 1758, to expoſe the diamond to the ſame heat as porcelain. After he had ſatisfied himſelf of the truth of the experiments made in Germany, he communicated them to the Academy of Sciences, and afterwards repeated them in the midſt of Paris, in order that they might be eſtabliſhed with all poſſible authenticity. As this able philoſopher hath ſince varied and combined his experiments, the inconteſtible reſult of them, and of thoſe that have been made after him, is, that the diamond evaporates and burns away readily in the fire and in the open air; and that the complete deſtruction of it, far from requiring the intenſe heat which it had been expoſed to before his time, ſcarce requires the degree of heat neceſſary to keep fine ſilver in fuſion.

M. Darcet hath moreover proved, that the diamond can be deſtroyed, not only in the open air, but likewiſe in crucibles made of the beſt baked porcelain, and hermetically ſealed, provided the crucibles be put in the fire of large glaſshouſes, or in the intenſe fires for making porcelain, and which have been long kept up.

The moſt active menſtruums, ſuch as alkaline ſalts in fuſion, and the moſt concentrated minerals, aſſiſted even by the heat of fire, have no effect upon the diamond. It is not affected by their action; it does not mix with any glaſs in vitrification; it does not unite with any ſubſtance that is yet known; and theſe qualities are equally common to the diamonds of India as to thoſe of Brazil; to the white diamonds, as to thoſe that are black or coloured; to the perfect diamonds, and to the veiny diamonds, which cannot be worked.

Such are the particular properties of this ſubſtance, which is hitherto unparalleled in nature; that although it poſſeſſes all the external appearances of other ſtones, it hath not the leaſt affinity to them in the nature of its compoſition; that, notwithſtanding its exceſſive hardneſs, it is the only one of the ſpecies which doth not reſiſt the action of even a moderate fire, but is entirely diſſipated by it. Thus it is that Nature, in her three kingdoms, diſplays an infinite variety of ſurpriſing irregularities. Sometimes ſhe ſeems to confine herſelf in the chain and ſcale of beings, to the order of almoſt imperceptible differences; and ſometimes, breaking through every kind of ſeries, ſhe takes a ſudden flight, leaving an immenſe void behind her, and fixes two diſtant boundaries, the intervals of which it is impoſſible to fill up. Thus it is that certain vegetables already enjoy ſome of the advantages of animal life! It is the ſame thing with gold, with mercury, and with ſulphur, compared to other mineral and metallic ſubſtances. It is the ſame, in a word, with man, who leaves all other animals at ſo great a diſtance behind him.

There are very few diamond mines. Till of late years, we knew of none but in the Eaſt Indies. The oldeſt is on the river Gouel, that iſſues from the mountains, and falls into the Ganges. It is called the mine of Soiempour, from the name of a village built near that part of the river where the diamonds are found. Very few diamonds have ever been taken out of it; any more than out of the Succadan, a river in the iſland of Borneo. The chain of mountains that extends from Cape Comorin to Bengal hath yielded much more.

There is a great variety in the ſoil from whence the diamonds are extracted. Several of theſe mines are ſix, eight, and ſometimes as far as twelve feet deep, in a ſandy and ſtony ſoil; others are found in a ſpecies of ferruginous mineral, where they are fifty fathoms deep. But in all parts this ſingular ſtone is inſulated, and doth not ſeem to adhere to any baſis, or to any rock. It is ſurrounded on all ſides by a thin pellicle, rather opaque, and of the nature of the diamond itſelf. This pellicle is commonly covered over with a cruſt not very ſolid, which is formed by the ſurrounding earth or ſand.

The Europeans, except a few inquiſitive travellers, do not frequent the mines of Indoſtan. They are worked by the natives, who deliver the diamonds to the rich Banians, who carried them formerly to Madras; but who, ſince the roads have been made, begin to convey them to Calcutta. The whole of this branch of commerce is almoſt entirely fallen, for a conſiderable time paſt, into the hands of a few Engliſhmen, who trade on their own account. They ſort the ſtones of different weight and of different qualities, and put them into proper bags, which are ſealed up, and ſold in London with their invoice. Reckoning the ſix laſt years as one common year, the united value of all theſe diamonds hath amounted annually to 3,420,000 livres [142,500l.] To this eſtimate, which only comprehends what is regiſtered, muſt be added what hath been concealed, in order to avoid the duty of two and three quarters *per cent.* which muſt be paid to the India Company.

Among theſe diamonds there was one found of an irregular ſhape, and which weighed 193 carats when cut. It was the property of an American, who refuſed to cede it to the empreſs of Ruſſia for the ſum of 2,500,000 livres [104,166l. 13s. 4d.], beſide a life annuity of 25,000 livres [1041l. 13s. 4d.]. This merchant met with no purchaſer, and thought himſelf very fortunate when count Orloff, ſome time after, renewed the offer of 2,500,000 livres [104,166l. 13s. 4d.], but without the annuity. In 1722, Catherine condeſcended to accept, on her feſtival day, this valuable preſent from the hands of her favourite.

It was to be feared, that the revolutions which ſo frequently ſubvert Indoſtan would occaſion a ſcarcity of diamonds; but this apprehenſion was removed by a diſcovery which was made in 1728, at Brazil, upon ſome branches of the river das Caravelas, and at Serro de Frio, in the province of Minas-Geraes.

Some ſlaves, condemned to ſearch for gold, uſed to find ſome little bright pebbles mixt with it, which they threw away as uſeleſs among the ſand and gravel. Antonio Rodrigues Banha ſuſpected the value of them, and communicated his idea to Pedro de Almeida, the governor of the country. Some of theſe brilliant pebbles were ſent to the court of Liſbon, who, in 1730, commiſſioned d'Acunha, their miniſter in Holland, to have them examined. After repeated experiments, the artiſts pronounced them to be very fine diamonds.

The Portugueſe immediately gathered them with ſo much diligence, that the Rio Janeiro fleet brought home eleven hundred and forty-ſix ounces. This plenty leſſened their price conſiderably; but the meaſures taken by an attentive miniſtry ſoon made them riſe to their original value. They conferred the excluſive right of ſearching for diamonds on a few wealthy aſſociates; and in order even to reſtrain the avidity of the Company itſelf, it was ſtipulated that it ſhould employ no more than ſix hundred ſlaves in that buſineſs. It hath ſince been permitted to increaſe their number at pleaſure, paying 100 ſols [4s. 2d.] *per* day for every miner.

To enſure the buſineſs of the chartered Company, the gold mines, which were worked in the neighbourhood, were in general ſhut up; and thoſe who had founded their expectations of fortune upon this frequently deceitful baſis, were compelled to turn their activity into ſome other channel. The other citizens were ſuffered to remain upon their eſtates; but capital puniſhments were decreed by the law againſt any perſon who ſhould encroach upon the excluſive rights granted to the Company. Since the ſovereign hath ſucceeded to the Company, all the citizens are allowed to ſearch for diamonds, but under the reſtriction of delivering them to the agents of the crown at the price it hath ſtipulated, and on paying twenty *per cent.* upon this ſum.

The diamonds that are intended to be ſent from the New World to the Old, are encloſed in a caſket which hath three locks, the keys of which are ſeparately put into the hands of the chief members of adminiſtration; and thoſe keys are depoſited in another caſket, which is to be ſealed with the viceroy's ſeal. While the excluſive privilege ſubſiſted, this precious depoſit, on its arrival in Europe, was remitted to government, who retained, according to a ſettled regulation, the very ſcarce diamonds which exceeded twenty carats, and delivered every year, for the profit of the Company, to one, or to ſeveral contractors united, forty thouſand carats, at prices which have ſucceſſively varied. An engagement was made on one hand to receive that quantity; and on the other, not to diſtribute any more; and whatever might be the produce of the mines, which neceſſarily varied, the contract was faithfully adhered to.

At preſent, the court throws ſixty thouſand carats of diamonds into trade. Theſe are monopoliſed by one ſingle merchant, who gives 3,120,000 livres [130,000l.], at the rate of 25 livres [1l. 10d.] the carat, for them. If the ſmuggling amounts to a tenth, as well-informed perſons ſuppoſe, the ſum of 312,000 livres [13,000l.] muſt be added to the ſum received by government: it will be found that the produce of thoſe mines, the riches of which there is ſo great a propenſity to exaggerate, doth not amount annually to more than 3,432,000 livres [143,000l.]. Theſe rough diamonds are purchaſed by England and Holland, who furniſh them to other nations, more or leſs well cut.

The diamonds of Brazil are not found in quarries; moſt of them are ſcattered in the rivers, the courſe of which is more or leſs frequently altered. It is a queſtion not yet decided, whether they be formed there, or whether they have been carried there by the waters which empty themſelves into theſe rivers. The increaſe of their quantity in the rainy ſeaſons, and after violent ſtorms, would induce one to believe that they have been waſhed away by the torrents which have detached them from the rocks and mountains.

In the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, the mines are ſituated at a ſmall diſtance from the equator; ſome of them in the firſt degrees of northern latitude, and others in the correſpondent degrees of ſouthern latitude. The cruſt which the rough diamonds are ſurrounded with is thicker in the diamonds of Brazil than in thoſe of Indoſtan; and it is an eaſy matter, or at leaſt poſſible, to diſtinguiſh them in that primary ſtate. But the moſt ſkilful lapidaries are deceived in them, after they have been once cut; they are accordingly of equal value in trade; but this equality is to be underſtood only of the ſmall diamonds. Moſt of the American diamonds, beyond four or five carats, have blemiſhes, which are ſeldom found in thoſe of Aſia; and in that caſe the difference in the price is prodigious. Some artiſts are likewiſe of opinion, that the latter are harder and more brilliant than the former; but this opinion is not generally received.

Some very imperfect amethiſts and topazes are likewiſe found in the diamond and gold country, as well as ſome tolerable fine cryſolites. Theſe precious ſtones were never under the yoke of monopoly; and thoſe who diſcover them are at liberty to diſpoſe of them in whatever manner they think moſt ſuitable to their intereſt. Their annual exportation, however, does not amount to more than 150,000 livres [6250l.], and the duties which government receives from them, at the rate of one *per cent.* do not exceed 1500 livres [62l. 10s.].

Mines of iron, ſulphur, antimony, tin, lead, and quickſilver, are likewiſe found in theſe rich countries, and in ſome other provinces of Brazil; but no care hath been taken to open any of them. Copper only ſeems to have been refuſed by nature to this vaſt and fruitful region of the New Hemiſphere.

Preſent ſtate of Brazil.

A colony ſo intereſting hath been uſeful to Portugal in ſeveral ways. The increaſe of the public revenue, by the Brazils, ſeems to have been the kind of advantage which hitherto hath moſtly engaged the attention of the government. The obligation to pay for the tranſportation of the metals, which is reſerved for ſhips of war; the excluſive trade of diamonds, the ſale of a great number of monopolies, the overloading of the cuſtoms; ſuch are the principal ſources of wealth, which, even in Europe, an inſatiable treaſury hath opened to itſelf.

Theſe vexations have been carried ſtill farther in America. A fifth of the profits upon gold and diamonds is required, which amounts to 6 or 7,000,000 livres [from 250,000l. to 291,666l. 13s. 4d.]. A tenth is demanded upon all kinds of productions, which, though collected without ſeverity, amounts to 2,873,000 livres [119,708l. 6s. 8d.]. The inhabitants are obliged to purchaſe cruſades, which do not exceed 160,000 livres [6666l. 13s. 4d.]. A duty is alſo exacted upon ſlaves, which amounts to 1,076,650 livres [44,860l. 8s. 4d.]. Another for the rebuilding of Liſbon, and for public ſchools, which amounts to 385,000 livres [16,041l. 13s. 4d.]; another from all ſubaltern officers of juſtice, which amounts to 153,000 livres [6375l.]. Ten *per cent.* is likewiſe required upon every import and export, which may yield 4,882,000 livres [203,416l. 13s. 4d.]; and 1,124,000 livres [43,833l. 6s. 8d.] are demanded for the liberty of conveying to inland countries the liquors and the commodities that are brought into port. Government hath alſo reſerved to itſelf the monopoly of ſalt, ſoap, mercury, aqua fortis, and cards, which it farms out for 710,320 livres [29,596l 13s. 4d.].

Notwithſtanding all theſe taxes, which bring in annually 18,073,970 livres [753,082l. 1s. 8d.] to the crown, it hath ſtill contracted engagements in the Brazils. It owes 713,000 livres [29,708l. 6s. 8d.] to Para, 517,600 [21,791l. 13s. 4d.] to St. Paul and to Matto Groſſo. 10,110,000 livres [421,250l.] to Rio Janeiro; in all 11,344,000 livres [472,525l.]. In the former of theſe governments, the debt hath been occaſioned by the recent conſtruction of ſome forts, more or leſs neceſſary; and in the latter, by the wars which were obliged to be carried on againſt the Guaranis in 1750, and by thoſe which it hath been requiſite to ſuſtain againſt Spain.

On the other hand, in 1774, the Brazils were indebted to the merchants of the mother-country to the amount of 15,165,980 livres [631,915l. 16s. 8d.]. This was the opinion of a man who hath attended moſt to this great ſettlement, and hath acquired the beſt information concerning it.

Foreign connections of Brazil.

The colony hath formed ſome commercial intercourſe with ſeveral countries of the globe. Formerly the ſhips which returned from the Eaſt Indies to Portugal uſed to put in there, and to diſpoſe of part of their cargo. This intercourſe hath been interrupted in latter times, for reaſons with which we are unacquainted, but which cannot be good ones.

The weſtern coaſt of Africa, from the Cape de Verde Iſlands to beyond the country of Angola, is more than ever frequented by the Brazilian navigators; and thoſe of Rio Janeiro have begun, not long ago, to trade on the northern coaſt. Veſſels are employed in theſe voyages which are built in the colony itſelf, and which are not of leſs than ſixty tons burden, nor more than one hundred and forty. The crew is either entirely or moſtly compoſed of Negroes and Mulattoes. It is for the working of the mines, and for the cultivation of the lands, that this great exertion is made. It is evident from ſome very authentic memorials which are now before us, that for theſe eight years paſt, ſixteen *thouſand three hundred and three ſlaves* have been carried off from theſe unfortunate ſhores every year. Theſe ſlaves, at the rate of 312 livres [13l.], one with another, muſt have coſt 5,161,536 livres [215,064l.]. They have been paid for with the gold, the tobacco, the rums, and the cottons, which come from Brazil; and with the glaſs manufactures, the mirrors, the ribands, and ſeveral kinds of toys brought from Europe.

The connections of the colony with the Portugueſe iſlands are maintained for another purpoſe. It receives annually from Madeira, by means of eight or nine ſmall ſhips, to the amount of 400,000 livres [16,666l. 13s. 4d.] in wine, vinegar, and brandy; and from the Azores, by means of four or five more veſſels, to the amount of 610,000 livres [25,416l. 13s. 4d.] in liquors; to which are added, linens, ſalt proviſions, and flour. The agents of this trade lade themſelves, in return, with thoſe productions of Brazil, the excluſive property of which the mother-country hath not reſerved to itſelf. Theſe ſeveral branches of trade united do not carry away annually more than to the amount of 2,271,000 livres [94,625l.] of the production of the colony.

Almoſt all the riches of this vaſt region of the New

BOOK IX. World are carried into Portugal. From the year 1772 to 1775, they amounted annually to the ſum of 56,949,290 livres [2,372,887l. 1s. 8d.]. Gold, diamonds, four hundred and forty-three thouſand quintals of ſugar, fifty-eight thouſand five hundred quintals of tobacco, four thouſand five hundred quintals of cotton, twenty thouſand quintals of wood for dyeing, one hundred fourteen thouſand and twenty hides, together with ſome other objects of leſs importance, made up this great ſum.

After the period we have been ſpeaking of, a few variations took place. We are not ſufficiently acquainted with them to aſcertain them with preciſion; but we know to a certainty that the mother-country hath received every year from Rio Janeiro a ſmall quantity of coffee and of indigo, together with one thouſand quintals of ſugar, more than it received formerly. We know to a certainty that it hath received from Para and from Maragnan every year three hundred and twenty-one quintals of rice, and one hundred and ninety-two quintals of cotton, more than were formerly ſent; and we alſo know that there hath been an annual diminution of four thouſand hides and of 965,000 livres [40,208l. 6s. 8d.] in the gold, among the ſeveral remittances that have been made.

The colony is paid with merchandiſe, which have not coſt originally above fifteen or ſixteen millions of livres [from 625,000l. to 666,666l. 13s. 4d.]. The duties received by the ſovereign himſelf, ſeveral monopolies, exorbitant taxes, the dearneſs of freighting, and the profits of the trade, abſorb the remainder.

Portugal did not formerly ſend from its own country to its colonies any thing beſide liquors; but, ſince the induſtry of the province is in ſome degree revived, it furniſhes one half of the conſumptions made in the part of the New Hemiſphere that is under its dominion.

It is with two-thirds of the productions of Brazil, which are ſold to foreigners; it is with the gold and the diamonds which come from theſe regions; it is with the wines, the woollen cloths, the ſalt, and the fruits of the mother-country itſelf, that Portugal is enabled to pay ſixty millions [2,500,000l.] for the merchandiſe which they annually receive from the ſeveral countries of Europe. The ſhare which the ſeveral nations have taken in this trade hath experienced great variations. At this preſent time, England is in poſſeſſion of fourteen parts of it, Italy of eight, Holland of ſeven, Hamburgh of ſix, France of five, Sweden of four, Denmark of four, Spain of two, and Ruſſia of one only. The ſpoils of this nation have not always been thus divided.

Portugal, and its diſtant ſettlements, are fallen into a ſtate of the utmoſt degradation. Reaſons of this.

The firſt conqueſts of the Portugueſe in Africa and Aſia did not ſtifle the ſeeds of their induſtry. Though Liſbon was become the general warehouſe for India goods, her own ſilk and woollen manufactures were ſtill maintained, and were ſufficient for the conſumption of the mother-country and of Brazil. The national activity extended to every thing, and made ſome amends for the deficiency of population, which was becoming daily more conſiderable. Amidſt the various calamities that Spaniſh tyranny oppreſſed the kingdom with, the Portugueſe could not complain of a ceſſation of labour at home; nor was the number of manufactures much leſſened at the time when they recovered their liberty.

The happy revolution that placed the duke of Braganza upon the throne was the period of this decay. A ſpirit of enthuſiaſm ſeized upon the people. Some of them croſſed the ſeas, in order to defend diſtant poſſeſſions againſt an enemy who was imagined to be more formidable than he really was. The reſt took up arms to cover the frontiers. The intereſt of the whole nation prevailed over private views, and every patriot was ſolicitous only for his country. It might naturally be expected, that, when the firſt enthuſiaſm was paſt, every one would reſume his uſual employment; but, unfortunately, the cruel war which followed that great event, was attended with ſuch devaſtations in an open country, that the people choſe rather to forego their labours than to expoſe themſelves to ſee the fruits of them continually deſtroyed. The miniſtry encouraged this ſpirit of indolence by meaſures which cannot be too ſeverely cenſured.

Their ſituation put them under a neceſſity of forming alliances. Political reaſons ſecured to them all the enemies of Spain. The advantages they muſt neceſſarily reap from the diverſions made in Portugal, could not fail of attaching them to its intereſt. If the new court had formed ſuch extenſive views, as from the nature of their enterpriſe it might be preſumed they had, they would have known that they had no need to make any ſacrifices in order to acquire friends. By an ill-judged precipitation they ruined their affairs. They gave up their trade to other powers, who were almoſt as much intereſted in their preſervation as they were themſelves. This infatuation made thoſe powers imagine they might venture any thing, and their avidity ſtill prompted them to encroach upon the privileges that had been ſo improperly laviſhed upon them. The induſtry of the Portugueſe was deſtroyed by this competition, but was again revived, in ſome degree, by an error of the French miniſtry.

This crown had, for a conſiderable time paſt, been in poſſeſſion of ſome iſlands in America. The ſhackles with which they had been reſtrained had till then impeded their fertility. The cultures would ſpeedily and infallibly have been improved, by a well-digeſted plan of liberty. The crown choſe rather to ſecure to the monopoly, to which they were ſubjected, the excluſive right of ſupplying the kingdom; and the ſugars and tobaccos of Brazil were ſtrictly prohibited there in 1664. The court of Liſbon, irritated, as they had reaſon to be, with this inconſiderate prohibition, forbade, on their parts, the importation of French manufactures, the only ones, at that period, which were eſteemed in Portugal. Genoa immediately ſeized upon the ſilk trade, and hath kept it ever ſince; and England appropriated to itſelf the woollen trade, though with leſs uninterrupted ſucceſs. The Portugueſe, inſtructed by workmen from all quarters, began, in 1681, to manufacture the fleeces of their own flocks. The progreſs of this manufacture was ſufficiently rapid, to enable the government to proſcribe ſeveral kinds of foreign woollen cloths, and, ſoon after, to forbid thoſe of all kinds.

Great Britain was much chagrined at theſe arrangements. For a long time, the Engliſh ſtrove, with great aſſiduity, to open the communication afreſh, which had been ſhut againſt them. Their endeavours were ſometimes likely to be attended with ſucceſs; but they were ſoon after obliged to give up thoſe hopes, which they had reaſon to think ſo well founded. It was impoſſible to diſcover in what manner theſe attempts would end, when a revolution happened in the political ſyſtem of Europe, which at once overturned all the former ideas.

A grandſon of Lewis XIV. was called to the throne of Spain. All nations were alarmed at this acceſſion of power to the houſe of Bourbon, which they already thought too formidable and too ambitious. Portugal, in particular, which had always conſidered France as a firm friend, now beheld in her an enemy, who muſt neceſſarily deſire, and perhaps promote, her ruin. This induced her to apply for the protection of England, which being accuſtomed to turn every event to her own commercial advantage, could not fail of availing itſelf, with warmth, of a circumſtance ſo favourable to its intereſt. The Engliſh ambaſſador Methuen, a profound and able negotiator, ſigned a treaty, on the 27th of December 1703, by which the court of Liſbon engaged to permit the importation of all Britiſh woollen goods, on the ſame footing as before the prohibition; upon condition that the Portugal wines ſhould pay a duty one third leſs than thoſe of France, to the cuſtom-houſe in England.

The advantages of this ſtipulation were very certain for one of the parties, but only probable for the other. England obtained an excluſive privilege for her manufactures, as the prohibition remained in full force with regard to thoſe of other nations; but granted nothing on her part, having already ſettled, for her own intereſt, what ſhe now artfully repreſented to her ally as a great favour. Since France had bought no more cloths of the Engliſh, they had obſerved that the high price of French wines was prejudicial to the balance of trade, and had therefore endeavoured to leſſen the conſumption, by laying heavier duties upon them. They have again increaſed them from the ſame motive, and ſtill made a merit of it to the court of Liſbon, as being a proof of their friendſhip.

The Portugueſe manufactures fell, being unable to ſupport the competition of the Engliſh. Great Britain clothed her new ally; and as the wine, oil, ſalt, and fruit ſhe bought, was a trifle in compariſon to what ſhe ſold, it was neceſſary that the deficiency ſhould be ſupplied with the gold of Brazil. The balance inclined more and more in favour of the Engliſh, and it was ſcarce poſſible that it ſhould not.

All perſons who are converſant with the theory of commerce, or have attended to its revolutions, know that an active, rich, and intelligent nation, which hath once appropriated to itſelf any conſiderable branch of trade, will ſoon engroſs all the leſs important branches of it. It hath ſuch great advantages over its competitors, that it diſguſts them, and makes itſelf maſter of the countries where its induſtry is exerted. Thus it is that Great Britain hath found means to engroſs all the productions of Portugal and her colonies.

It furniſhed Portugal with clothing, food, hardware, materials for building, and all articles of luxury, and returned her own materials manufactured. Theſe uſeful labours employed a million of Engliſh artificers or huſbandmen.

It furniſhed her with ſhips, and with naval and warlike ſtores for her ſettlements in America, and carried on all her navigation in other parts of the world.

It had engroſſed the whole money trade of Portugal. Money was borrowed in London at three or three and a half *per cent.* and negotiated at Liſbon, where it was worth ten. In ten years time, the capital was paid by the intereſt, and ſtill remained due.

It engroſſed all the inland trade. There were Engliſh houſes ſettled at Liſbon, which received all the commodities of their own country, and diſtributed them to merchants, who diſpoſed of them in the provinces, moſtly for the benefit of their employers. A ſmall profit was the only reward of this induſtry, which is diſgraceful to a nation that worked at home for the benefit of another.

It carried off even the agency buſineſs. The fleets deſtined for the Brazils were the ſole property of the Engliſh. The riches they brought back belonged to them. They would not even ſuffer them to paſs through the hands of the Portugueſe, and only borrowed or purchaſed their name, becauſe they could not do without it. Theſe ſtrangers diſappeared as ſoon as they had acquired the fortune they intended, and left that nation impoveriſhed and exhauſted, at whoſe expence they had enriched themſelves. It is demonſtrable from the regiſters of the fleets, that in the ſpace of ſixty years, that is, from the diſcovery of the mines to the year 1756, 2,400,000,000 livres [100,000,000l.] worth of gold had been brought away from Brazil, and yet, in this latter period, all the ſpecie in Portugal amounted to no more than 15 or 20,000,000 [from 625,000l. to 833,333l. 6s. 8d.], and at that time the nation owed one hundred million [4,166,666l. 13s. 4d.], or more.

But what Liſbon was loſing, London gained. England, by her natural advantages, was only intended for a ſecondary power. Though the changes that had happened in the religion, government, and induſtry of the Engliſh, had improved their condition, increaſed their ſtrength, and unfolded their genius, they could not poſſibly act a capital part. They knew by experience that the means which, in ancient governments, could raiſe a nation to any height, when, without any connection with its neighbours, it emerged, as it were, ſingly out of nothing, were inſufficient in modern times, when the intercourſe of nations, making the advantages of each common to all, left to numbers and ſtrength their natural ſuperiority. Since ſoldiers, generals, and nations, had hired themſelves to engage in war; ſince the power of gold had opened every cabinet, and made every treaty; England had learned that the greatneſs of a ſtate depended upon its riches, and that its political power was eſtimated in proportion to its millions. This truth, which muſt have alarmed the ambition of the Engliſh, became favourable to them, as ſoon as they had prevailed upon Portugal to depend upon them for neceſſaries, and had bound them by treaties to an impoſſibility of procuring them from any other power. Thus was that kingdom made dependent on a falſe friend for food and raiment. Theſe were, to borrow the expreſſion of a certain politician, like two anchors which the Britons had faſtened upon that empire. They went further ſtill: they made the Portugueſe loſe all conſideration, all weight, all influence in the general ſyſtem of affairs, by perſuading them to have neither forces nor alliances. Truſt to us, ſaid the Engliſh, for your ſafety; we will negotiate and fight for you. Thus, without bloodſhed or labour, and without experiencing any of the evils that attend upon conqueſt, they made themſelves more effectually maſters of Portugal, than the Portugueſe were of the mines of Brazil.

All things are connected, both in nature and politics. It is ſcarce poſſible that a nation ſhould loſe its agriculture and its induſtry, without a viſible decay of the liberal arts, letters, ſciences, and all the ſound principles of policy and government. The kingdom of Portugal furniſhes a melancholy inſtance of this truth. As ſoon as Great Britain had condemned it to a ſtate of inaction, it is fallen into ſuch barbariſm as is ſcarce credible. The light which had ſhone all over Europe did not extend itſelf to the frontiers of Portugal. That kingdom was even obſerved to degenerate, and to attract the contempt of thoſe whoſe emulation and jealouſy it had before excited. The advantage of having tolerable laws, while all other ſtates were involved in horrible confuſion; this ineſtimable advantage has been of no ſervice to the Portugueſe. They have loſt the turn of their genius, by forgetting the principles of reaſon, morality, and politics. The efforts they may make to emerge from this ſtate of degeneracy and infatuation might poſſibly prove ineffectual; becauſe good reformers are not eaſily to be found in that nation which ſtands moſt in need of them. Men who are qualified to cauſe revolutions in empires are generally prepared to it by previous circumſtances, and ſeldom ſtart up at once. They have generally had their forerunners, who have awakened the minds of the people, diſpoſed them to receive the light, and prepared the neceſſary means for bringing about great revolutions. As there is no appearance of any ſuch preparatory ſteps in Portugal, the nation muſt ſtill continue for a long time in this humiliating condition, unleſs it will adopt the principles followed, with ſo much ſucceſs, by the moſt enlightened ſtates.

Means which the court of Liſbon ought to employ to extricate the mother-country, and her colonies, from their languid ſtate.

The firſt ſtep towards its recovery, that firm and vigorous one without which all the reſt would be unſteady, uncertain, uſeleſs, and perhaps dangerous, would be to ſhake off the yoke of England. Portugal, in her preſent ſituation, cannot ſubſiſt without foreign commodities; therefore, it is her intereſt to promote the greateſt competition of ſellers ſhe poſſibly can, in order to reduce the price of what ſhe is obliged to buy. As it is no leſs the intereſt of the Portugueſe to diſpoſe of the overplus of their own produce and that of the colonies, they ought, for the ſame reaſon, to invite as many purchaſers as poſſible to their harbours, to enhance the price, and increaſe the quantity of their exports. Theſe political meaſures are certainly liable to no objection.

By the treaty of 1703, the Portugueſe are only obliged to permit the importation of woollen goods from England, on the terms ſtipulated before the prohibition. They might grant the ſame privilege to other nations, without incurring the reproach of having broken their engagement. A liberty granted to one nation was never interpreted as an excluſive and perpetual privilege, that could deprive the prince who granted it of his right of extending it to other nations. He muſt neceſſarily be the judge of what ſuits his own kingdom. It is not eaſy to conceive what rational objection a Britiſh miniſtry could make to a king of Portugal who ſhould tell them, I will encourage merchants to come to my dominions, who will feed and clothe my ſubjects as cheap and cheaper than you, merchants who will take the produce of my colonies, from whence you will receive nothing but gold.

We may judge of the effect this wiſe conduct would have, by the events that have taken place, independent of this ſpirited reſolution. It appears from the regiſters of the cuſtoms, that in the ſpace of five years, from 1762 to 1766 incluſively, England, which, till very lately, engroſſed the whole trade of Portugal, hath only ſent there goods to the value of 95,613,547 livres 10 ſous [3,983,897l. 16s. 3d.], and hath received commodities to the amount of 37,761,075 livres [1,573,378l. 2s. 6d.]; ſo that the balance in money hath been but 57,692,475 livres [2,403,853l. 2s. 6d.].

The circumſtance which deceives all Europe, with regard to the extent of the Engliſh trade, is, that all the gold of Brazil is conveyed by the road of the Thames. This ſeems to be a natural and neceſſary conſequence of the affairs carried on by that nation. But the truth is, that metals are not allowed to go out of Portugal, and, therefore, can only be brought away by men of war, which are not liable to be ſearched; that Great Britain ſends two every week, as regularly as the ſea will permit; and that theſe ſhips bring the riches of all nations into their iſland, from whence the merchants, diſperſed in the ſeveral countries, receive them, either in kind, or in bills of exchange, paying one *per cent.*

The Britiſh miniſtry, who are not the dupes of theſe dazzling appearances, and are but too ſenſible of the diminution of this moſt valuable branch of their trade, have, for ſome time paſt, taken incredible pains to reſtore it to its former ſtate. Their endeavours will never ſucceed, becauſe this is one of thoſe events which are not within the reach of political wiſdom. If the evil aroſe from favours granted to rival nations, or if England had been debarred from her former privileges, ſome well-conducted negotiations might occaſion a new revolution. But the court of Liſbon hath never varied its conduct neither with Great Britain nor with other ſtates. Her ſubjects have had no other inducement to give the preference to the merchandiſe brought them from all parts of Europe, than becauſe thoſe of their former friends were ſo loaded with taxes, that they bore an exorbitant price. The Portugueſe will procure many articles at a ſtill more reaſonable rate, whenever their government ſhall eſtabliſh a perfect equality in their ports between all nations.

The court of Liſbon, after removing, in ſome meaſure, the diſadvantages of their trade, which is merely paſſive, ſhould endeavour to make it active. Their miniſters, in conformity with the prevailing taſte of the age, have already eſtabliſhed ſome manufactures of ſilk, of cotton, and of ſteel. We think that they ought to have begun by reſuming the cultures that have been dropped, and by reanimating thoſe that are languid.

The climate of Portugal is favourable to the production of ſilk, of which there was formerly great plenty. The baptized Jews made it their buſineſs to breed worms, and to prepare the ſilk, till they were perſecuted by the inquiſition, which was ſtill more ſevere and more powerful under the houſe of Braganza, than it had ever been under the Spaniſh dominion. Moſt of the manufacturers fled to the kingdom of Valencia; and thoſe who ſold the produce of their labours removed, with their effects, to England and Holland, which improved the activity of both thoſe countries. This diſperſion was the ruin of the ſilk trade in Portugal, ſo that no trace of it remains at preſent; but it might be reſumed.

The next cultivation that ought to be attended to, is that of the olive-tree. It is now carried on, and conſtantly ſupplies all the oil that is wanted for home conſumption, beſide a ſmall quantity every year for exportation; but this is not ſufficient. It would be an eaſy matter for Portugal to ſhare, in a more direct manner, with other nations, the profits they derive from this production, which is wholly confined to the ſouthern provinces of Europe.

Their wool is likewiſe capable of improvement. Though it be inferior to that of Spain, the French, the Dutch, and even the Engliſh, buy up twelve or thirteen thouſand quintals of it every year, and would purchaſe a greater quantity, if it were brought to market. Thoſe who have travelled through Portugal, with that ſpirit of obſervation which enables men to form a right judgment of things, are of opinion that double the quantity might be obtained, without injuring the other branches of induſtry; and that, on the contrary, it might tend to their improvement.

The trade of ſalt ſeems to have been more cloſely attended to. The North annually takes off a hundred and fifty thouſand tons, which may coſt 1,500,000 livres [62,500l.]. It is corroſive, and takes off from the weight and flavour of our food; but hath the advantage of preſerving fiſh and meat longer than French ſalt. This property will occaſion a greater demand for it, in proportion as the navigation of the country is extended.

The Portugueſe found a greater vent for their wines than might have been expected from their flavour and quality. Particular circumſtances had rendered them moſt commonly uſed in the North of Europe and of America. It was impoſſible to foreſee, that the court of Liſbon itſelf would put a ſtop to the ſale of them. The order for rooting up the vines in Portugal could only be dictated by private intereſt. The pretence for ſo extraordinary a law is ſo abſurd, that no one has given credit to it. It is very well known, that the ground where the vines have ſtood can never be fit for the culture of corn.

But if this were ever ſo practicable, it would ſtill be an unwarrantable infringement of the ſacred and unalienable right of property. In a monaſtery, every thing belongs to all: nothing is the property of any individual, but the joint property of the whole community; it is one ſingle animal with twenty, thirty, forty, a thouſand, or ten thouſand heads. But it is not the ſame in ſociety. Here every individual hath the diſpoſal of himſelf and of his property: he poſſeſſes a ſhare of the general wealth, which he is abſolute maſter of, and may uſe, or even abuſe, as he thinks proper. A private man muſt be at liberty to let his ground lie fallow, if he chooſes it, without the intervention of adminiſtration. If government ſhould aſſume a right to judge of the abuſe of property, it would ſoon take upon itſelf to judge of the uſe of it; and then every true idea of liberty and property will be deſtroyed. If it can require me to employ my own property according to its fancy; if it ſhould inflict puniſhments on my diſobedience, my negligence, or my folly, and that, under pretence of general and public utility, I am no longer abſolute maſter of my own, I am only an adminiſtrator, who is to be directed by the will of another. The man who lives in ſociety muſt, in this reſpect, be left at liberty to be a bad citizen, becauſe he will ſoon be ſeverely puniſhed by poverty, and by contempt, which is worſe than poverty. He who burns his own corn, or throws his money away, is a fool too rarely to be met with, to make it neceſſary to bind him by prohibitive laws, which would be injurious in themſelves, by their infringement of the univerſal and ſacred idea of property. In every well-regulated conſtitution, the buſineſs of the magiſtrate muſt be confined to what concerns the public ſafety, inward tranquillity, the conduct of the army, and the obſervance of the laws. Wherever authority is extended beyond this, we may affirm that the people are expoſed to oppreſſion. If we take a ſurvey of all ages and nations, that great and ſublime idea of public utility will preſent itſelf to our imagination under the ſymbolical figure of a Hercules, cruſhing one part of the people with his club, amidſt the ſhouts and acclamations of the other part, who are not ſenſible that they are ſoon to fall under the ſame ſtrokes.

To return to Portugal: that country ſtands in need of other meaſures than have hitherto been purſued, to reſtore the culture of corn; it is in ſo languid a ſtate, that the Portugueſe annually import three-fourths of the corn they conſume. They never, perhaps, will be able to gather their whole ſubſiſtence from a ſoil which is not ſufficiently well watered; but it behoves them to leſſen, as much as they poſſibly can, their dependence upon foreign ſuccours. The population is ſufficient to carry on the labours with ſpirit, ſince, by allowing four perſons and a half to each fire-ſide, it amounts to one million nine hundred and ſixty thouſand ſouls, excluſive of the monks.

The court of Liſbon would lie under a fatal miſtake, if they ſhould imagine that time alone will bring about ſo great a revolution. It behoves them to pave the way for it, by a complete reformation of the taxes, which have never been well regulated ſince the foundation of the monarchy, and the confuſion of which increaſes every year. When the impediments are removed, every kind of encouragement muſt be given. One of the moſt fatal prejudices, and moſt deſtructive of the happineſs of men and the proſperity of nations, is that which ſuppoſes that men only are wanting for the purpoſes of agriculture. The experience of all ages hath ſhown, that much cannot be required of the earth, till much hath been beſtowed upon it. There are, in all Portugal, very few farmers who are able to advance the neceſſary ſums. Government ſhould, therefore, aſſiſt them. A revenue of 46,884,531 livres [1,953,523l. 2s. 6d.], properly diſpenſed, would facilitate this liberality, which is frequently more economical than the moſt ſordid avarice.

This firſt change will be productive of others. The arts neceſſary to agriculture will infallibly riſe and grow up with it. Induſtry will extend its ſeveral branches, and Portugal will no longer exhibit an inſtance of a ſavage people in the midſt of civilized nations. The citizen will no longer be forced to devote himſelf to celibacy, or to leave his country in ſearch of employment. Commodious houſes will be erected upon ruins; and manufactures ſupply the place of convents. The ſubjects of this almoſt ruined ſtate, which now reſemble thoſe ſcattered and ſolitary ſhrubs that are found upon the ſoil of the richeſt mines, will no longer be reduced to thoſe neceſſities they now experience, notwithſtanding their mountains and rivers of gold. The wealth of the ſtate will be kept in conſtant circulation, and will no longer be buried in the churches. Superſtition will be baniſhed, together with ignorance, deſpair, and indolence. Thoſe who have no other object in view, but to commit exceſſes, and expiate them, who are fond of miracles and magic arts, will then be inflamed with public ſpirit. The nation, freed from its fetters, and reſtored to its natural activity, will exert itſelf with a ſpirit worthy of its former exploits.

Portugal will recollect. that ſhe was indebted to her navy for her opulence, her glory, and her ſtrength, and will attend to the means of reſtoring it. It will no longer be reduced to ſeventeen men of war, to twenty-five warlike ſhips of ſmaller rates, and about a hundred merchantmen, from ſix to eight hundred tons burden, which are ſtill in a more ruinous ſtate. Her population, reduced to one million nine hundred and ſixty thouſand ſouls, will increaſe and fill her harbours and roads with active fleets. The revival of her navy will be doubtleſs difficult for a power, whoſe flag is not known on any of the European ſeas, and which, for a century paſt, has given up her navigation to any power that would attend to it; but every obſtacle will be ſurmounted by a wiſe and prudent government. When once it carries on all the navigation that ſhould belong to it, conſiderable ſums will be retained in the kingdom, which are now conſtantly expended for freight.

This change will extend its influence to the iſlands that are dependent on the crown. Madeira, the annual exports of which amount to 4,658,800 livres [194,116l. 13s. 4d.], will extend its labour, its proſperity, and its riches. The Azores will be ſtill more improved. We know that this Archipelago, conſiſting of nine iſlands, of which Tercera is the principal, hath no more than one hundred and forty-two thouſand inhabitants; and ſells at preſent, to the mother-country, to Brazil, and to North America, its wines, its linens, its corn, and its cattle, to the amount only of 2,440,000 livres [101,666l. 13s. 4d.]. Even the Cape de Verde iſlands, notwithſtanding the frequent droughts they experience, will be able to multiply their mules, and more eſpecially to cultivate the perella, that ſpecies of graſs of the colour of moſs, which the North of Europe employs with ſo much advantage in dyeing. The government will not confine themſelves to the encouragement in their poſſeſſions, of the cultures only that are known there; they will take care to introduce new ones, which the fertility of the ſoil, and the temperature and variety of the climate, ſeem inceſſantly to require.

Theſe new improvements will be principally felt in Brazil, that great colony, which hath never been what it ought.

Before the year 1525, it received only ſome baniſhed perſons, without either morals or fortune.

The grandees, who at this period obtained provinces there, made it a ſcene of carnage and deſtruction. For the ſpace of ſixty years, there was a continual ſtruggle between the Portugueſe, who wiſhed to enſlave all; and the Indians, who refuſed to bear the chains that were intended for them, or who broke them after they had been obliged to ſubmit to them.

Even the labours of a few Brazilians, who were kept under the yoke by a watchful exertion of tyranny, were inconſiderable. Thoſe of the Europeans were nothing, becauſe they would have thought themſelves degraded by ſlaviſh occupations. The only ſucceſs that could be expected was from the Negroes; but they did not begin to multiply there till towards the year 1570.

Ten years after this, Portugal was enſlaved; and we may readily ſuppoſe that the Spaniſh government, which ſuffered its own ancient poſſeſſions in the other hemiſphere to fall into confuſion, did not exert itſelf in improving the colonies of a nation, which, though ſubdued, ſtill excited its ſuſpicions.

The long and bloody wars which Brazil had to ſuſtain againſt the Dutch retarded its progreſs in every particular.

This was alſo again impeded, by the revolution which freed Portugal from the yoke of Spain, while it kept the two nations in arms during eighteen years.

While theſe conteſts were ſubſiſting, the European nations that had formed ſettlements in America began to cultivate there productions, which till that time had been peculiar to Brazil. This competition lowered the price of them; and the colony, diſcouraged, did not export more than half of what they previouſly ſold. So great a misfortune warned the miniſtry of the neceſſity of freeing theſe commodities from the taxes with which they were laden at their entrance into the mother-country. The diſcovery of the mines occaſioned theſe objects to be neglected, which, from that time, appeared to be leſs important than they really were.

Gold and diamonds, which are articles of value merely by convention, were themſelves prejudicial to cultures, which they might have encouraged. The hopes of making a brilliant fortune, by collecting theſe fugitive and precarious riches, determined a great number of proprietors to abandon their plantations.

This fatal illuſion began to be diſſipated, when the ſyſtem of monopolies put a ſtop to the inclination generally ſhown, of reſuming a plan which was more ſafe, and even more lucrative, than that which had at firſt ſo much inflamed the imaginations of men.

The laſt diſputes with Spain were, in a word, a new ſource of deſolation to the colony. The inhabitants were compelled by violence to quit their labours; loans were extorted from them without intereſt, for which they have not yet been reimburſed; they were expoſed to the utmoſt outrages of the moſt barbarous deſpotiſm.

At preſent, that theſe obſtacles to every kind of good are moſt of them removed, the riches which Brazil offers in vain, for three centuries paſt, are no longer to be rejected. The climate is wholeſome in that part of the New World; the harbours are numerous; and the coaſts, which are of eaſy acceſs, are generally fertile. The inland part of the country, which is ſtill more fruitful, and interſected by a great number of navigable rivers, may be cultivated for the wants or for the luxuries of Europe. All the productions peculiar to America thrive there, notwithſtanding the havock made by the ants, and without apprehenſion of ſeeing them deſtroyed by thoſe terrible hurricanes and by thoſe devouring droughts which ſo frequently lay waſte the beſt iſlands of this hemiſphere. It gives encouragement to labour, from the plenty of proviſions, of cattle, and of ſlaves: nothing is wanting to make it one of the fineſt eſtabliſhments upon the face of the globe.

It will become ſo, when it ſhall be freed from that number of impoſts, and from that multitude of contractors which keep it in a ſtate of humiliation and oppreſſion, when its activity ſhall no longer be reſtrained by numberleſs monopolies; when the price of the merchandiſe conveyed to it ſhall not be doubled by the taxes impoſed upon them; when its productions ſhall pay no more duties, or ſhall only pay ſuch as are not more conſiderable than thoſe of its competitors; when its intercourſe with the other national poſſeſſions ſhall have been diſencumbered from the ſhackles which confine it; when the Eaſt Indies ſhall be laid open to it, and when it ſhall be permitted to draw from its own produce the money required to carry on this new connection.

The colony hath hands ſufficient to multiply and to extend theſe labours. At the time of our writing, it reckons one hundred ſeventy-ſix thouſand and twenty-eight white men; three hundred forty-ſeven thouſand eight hundred and fifty-eight ſlaves; two hundred ſeventy-eight thouſand three hundred and forty-nine Indians; which together forms a population of eight hundred and two thouſand two hundred and thirty-five perſons. The number of ſavages, ſtill wandering about in the Brazils, is computed at two hundred thouſand. Perhaps it might not be impoſſible to induce them to acknowledge the authority of the court of Liſbon; but this would not be attended with much advantage, unleſs directors, more enlightened than their predeceſſors, ſhould contrive methods that have eſcaped the reflection of men for three centuries paſt.

A more certain method of increaſing the maſs of productions, would be to admit into the Brazils all foreigners who would undertake the cultivation of them; an infinite number of Americans, Engliſh, French, or Dutch, whoſe plantations are exhauſted; and many Europeans prompted by the ardent deſire, at preſent grown ſo common, of making a rapid fortune, would convey their activity, their induſtry, and their capitals into the country. Theſe enterpriſing men would introduce a better ſpirit into the colony, and would infuſe into the degenerate race of the Portugueſe Creoles, that kind of animation which they have loſt for ſo long a time.

This order of things might be eſtabliſhed without prejudice to any other intereſt. Two thirds of the borders of the great rivers are cultivated. Theſe virgin lands belong to the crown, whoſe ſyſtem it hath always been to grant gratuitouſly one league of territory, under the expreſs condition of cultivating it in a given time. By diſtributing theſe domains to their new ſubjects, they would not ſpoil their old ones, and they would increaſe their cultures, as well as the number of their defenders.

But in order to accelerate the advantages of this new plan, it would be neceſſary to efface even the ſlighteſt veſtige of the inquiſition, that horrible tribunal, the very name of which makes all people ſhudder who have not entirely given up their reaſon. This would even be a matter of little importance, if at the ſame time the influence of the clergy were not alſo diminiſhed in the public deliberations and in the affairs of individuals.

Some ſtates have been known to favour the corruption of prieſts, in order to weaken the aſcendant that ſuperſtition gives them over the minds of the people. That this method is not always infallible, appears from what has happened in the Brazils, nor is this execrable policy reconcileable with the principles of morality. It would be more ſecure and more eligible to open the doors of the ſanctuary to all the citizens without diſtinction. Philip II. when he became maſter of Portugal, enacted, that they ſhould be ſhut againſt all ſuch whoſe blood was tainted with any mixture with Jews, Heretics, or Negroes. This diſtinction hath given a dangerous ſuperiority to a ſet of men who were already too powerful. It hath been aboliſhed in the African ſettlements; and why ſhould it be continued in America? Why, after taking from the clergy the authority they derived from their birth, ſhould they not be abridged of the power they aſſume on account of their riches?

Some politicians have aſſerted, that no government ought ever to appoint a fixed income for the clergy, but that their ſpiritual ſervices ſhould be paid by thoſe who have recourſe to them. That this method would excite their zeal and vigilance. That they would grow daily more expert in the care of ſouls by experience, ſtudy, and application. Theſe ſtateſmen have been oppoſed by philoſophers, who maintained that an economy which would tend to increaſe the activity of the clergy, would be fatal to public tranquillity; and that it was better to lull that ambitious body into idleneſs, than to give it new ſtrength. It is obſerved, ſay they, that churches and religious houſes, which have no ſettled income, are ſo many repoſitories of ſuperſtition, maintained at the expence of the lower claſs of people, where ſaints, miracles, relics, and all the inventions with which impoſture hath loaded religion, are made. So that it would be a benefit to ſociety, if the clergy had a ſtated proviſion; but ſo moderate, as to reſtrain the ambition of the body and the number of its members. Poverty makes them fanatical; opulence independent; and both concur to render them ſeditious.

Such at leaſt was the opinion of a philoſopher, who ſaid to a great monarch: There is a powerful body in your dominions, which hath aſſumed a power of ſuſpending the labour of your ſubjects, whenever it thinks proper to call them into its temples. This body is authoriſed to ſpeak to them a hundred times a-year, and to ſpeak in the name of God. It tells them that the moſt powerful ſovereign is no more in the ſight of the Supreme Being than the meaneſt ſlave; and that, as it is inſpired by the Creator of all things, it is to be believed in preference to the maſters of the world. The effects of ſuch a ſyſtem threaten the total ſubverſion of ſociety, unleſs the miniſters of religion are made dependent on the magiſtrate; and they will never be effectually ſo, unleſs they derive their ſubſiſtence from him. This is the only way to eſtabliſh a harmony between the oracles of heaven and the maxims of government. It is the buſineſs of a prudent adminiſtration to bring, without diſturbances or commotions, the clergy to that ſtate in which they will be able to do good, without having it in their power to do miſchief.

Till the court of Liſbon hath attained this ſalutary end, all projects of reformation will be ineffectual. The defects of eccleſiaſtical government will ſtill ſubſiſt, notwithſtanding all endeavours to reform them. The clergy muſt be brought to depend upon the magiſtrate, before the Portugueſe who live in Brazil can venture to oppoſe their tyranny. Perhaps even the prejudices theſe inhabitants have imbibed from a faulty and monaſtic education, may be too deeply rooted in their minds to be ever eradicated. Theſe enlightened views ſeem to be reſerved for the next generation. This revolution might be haſtened, by obliging the chief proprietors to ſend their children to Europe for education, and by reforming the plan of public education in Portugal.

All ideas are eaſily impreſſed upon tender organs. The ſoul, without experience as without reflection, readily admits truth and falſehood in matters of opinion, and equally adopts what is either conducive or prejudicial to the public welfare. Young people may be taught to value or depreciate their own reaſon; to make uſe of it, or to neglect it; to conſider it as their beſt guide, or to miſtruſt its powers. Fathers obſtinately defend the abſurdities they were taught in their infancy; their children will be as fond of the leading principles in which they have been trained. They will bring back into Brazil notions of religion, morality, adminiſtration, commerce, and agriculture. The mother-country will confer places of truſt on them alone. They will then exert the talents they have acquired, and the face of the colony will be totally changed. Writers who ſpeak of it, will no longer lament the idleneſs, the ignorance, the blunders, the ſuperſtitions which have been the ground-work of its adminiſtration. The hiſtory of this colony will no longer be a ſatire upon it.

Whether the court of Liſbon ought to put a ſtop to their projects of reformation from the apprehenſion of a rupture with England.

The fear of incenſing Great Britain muſt not protract theſe happy alterations one ſingle moment. The motives which, perhaps, have prevented them hitherto, are but prejudices, which will be removed upon the ſlighteſt examination. There are numberleſs political errors, which, once adopted, become principles. Such is the prevailing notion at the court of Liſbon, that the ſtate cannot exiſt or proſper but by means of the Engliſh. It is forgotten that the Portugueſe monarchy was formed without the help of other nations; that during the whole time of their conteſts with the Moors, they were ſupported by no foreign power; that their greatneſs had been increaſing for three centuries ſucceſſively, when they extended their dominion over

Africa and the Eaſt and Weſt Indies by their own ſtrength. All theſe great revolutions were performed by the Portugueſe alone. Was it neceſſary then that this nation ſhould diſcover a great treaſure, and be a proprietor of rich mines, merely to ſuggeſt the idea of its being unable to ſupport itſelf? Are the Portugueſe to be compared to thoſe fooliſh individuals, whoſe heads are turned by the embarraſſment which their newly-acquired riches occaſion?

No nation ought to ſubmit to be protected. If the people are wiſe, they will have forces relative to their ſituation, and will never have more enemies than they are able to withſtand. Unleſs their ambition be unbounded, they have allies, who, for their own ſakes, will warmly and faithfully ſupport their intereſt. This general truth is peculiarly applicable to thoſe ſtates that are poſſeſſed of mines. It is the intereſt of all other nations to be in amity with them; and, if there be occaſion for it, they will all unite for their preſervation. Let Portugal but hold the balance even between all the powers of Europe, and they will form an impenetrable barrier around her. England herſelf, though deprived of the preference ſhe hath too long enjoyed, will ſtill ſupport a nation whoſe independence is eſſential to the balance of power in Europe. All nations would quickly join in one common cauſe, if Spain ſhould ever be ſo mad for conqueſt, as to attempt any thing againſt Portugal. Never would the jealous, reſtleſs, and quick-ſighted policy of our age, ſuffer all the treaſures of the New World to be in the ſame hands, or that one houſe ſhould be ſo powerful in America, as to threaten the liberties of Europe.

This ſecurity, however, ſhould not induce the court of Liſbon to neglect the means of their own preſervation, as they did when they truſted to the Britiſh arms for their defence, or indolently reſted on the ſupineneſs of their neighbours; when deſtitute of land or ſea forces, they were accounted as nothing in the political ſyſtem, which is the greateſt diſgrace that can befal a nation. If the Portugueſe will regain the conſequence they have loſt, they muſt put themſelves in ſuch a ſtate, as not to be afraid of war, and even to declare it themſelves, if their rights or their ſafety ſhould require it. It is not always an advantage to a nation to continue in peace, when all the reſt are in arms. In the political as in the natural world, a great event will have very extenſive effects. The riſe or fall of one empire will affect all the reſt. Even thoſe which are furtheſt removed from the ſeat of war, are ſometimes the victims of their moderation or of their weakneſs. Theſe maxims are directly applicable to Portugal, particularly at this juncture, when the example of her neighbours, the critical ſituation of her haughty allies, the ſolicitations of the powers who are jealous of her friendſhip; in ſhort, every thing calls upon her to rouſe, and to exert herſelf.

If the Portugueſe will not at length frequent the ſeas, where alone they can diſtinguiſh themſelves, and from whence they muſt derive their proſperity; if they do not appear with a powerful force at the extremity of Europe, where nature hath ſo happily placed them; their fate is decided, the monarchy is at an end. They will fall again into the chains they had ſhaken off for a moment, as a lion that ſhould drop aſleep at the door of his den, after he had broken it open. The little circulation there is ſtill within, would but indicate thoſe feeble ſigns of life, which are the ſymptoms of approaching death. The few trifling regulations they might make from time to time, reſpecting the finances, the police, commerce, and the navy, whether at home or for the colonies, would be but weak palliatives, which, by concealing their ſituation, would make it only the more dangerous.

Is it reaſonably to be expected that Portugal will improve its ſtate and that of its colonies?

It cannot be denied that Portugal hath ſuffered the moſt favourable opportunity that could have offered of reſuming her former ſplendour to eſcape. They are not politics alone that prepare revolutions. Some deſtructive phenomenon may change the face of an empire. The earthquake of the firſt of November 1755, which overthrew the capital of Portugal, ought to have reſtored the kingdom. The deſtruction of a proud city is often the preſervation of a whole ſtate, as the opulence of one man may be the ruin of thouſands. Stately edifices might be ſubverted; effects, moſtly belonging to foreigners, might be deſtroyed; idle, debauched, and corrupt men, might be buried under heaps of ruins, without affecting the public welfare. The earth, in a tranſient fit of rage, had only taken what ſhe was able to reſtore; and the gulfs ſhe opened under one city, were already digged for the foundations of another.

But we cannot flatter ourſelves with the hopes of future improvements, while we do not ſee a better order of things, a new ſtate, and a new people, a better management riſing out of the ruins of Liſbon. The nation that is not improved by a great cataſtrophe is ruined without reſource, or the period of its reſtoration is reſerved for ſuch diſtant ages, that it is probable it will ſooner be annihilated than it can be regenerated. May Heaven preſerve Portugal from this fatal event! May it remove from my mind the preſage which cannot be impreſſed upon it without plunging me into the deepeſt affliction! But at this inſtant I cannot conceal from myſelf, that as much as the great ſhocks of nature give energy to enlightened minds, ſo much do they depreſs thoſe that are vitiated by the habit of ignorance and ſuperſtition. Government, which every where takes advantage of the credulity of the people; and which nothing can divert from the ſettled purpoſe of extending the boundaries of authority, became more encroaching at the very inſtant that the nation grew more timorous. Men of bold ſpirits oppreſſed thoſe that were weak; and the epocha of that great phenomenon turned out to be the epocha of accumulated ſlavery; a melancholy but common effect of the cataſtrophes of nature. They uſually make men a prey to the artifices of thoſe who are ambitious of ruling over them. Then it is that they take large ſtrides, by repeated acts of arbitrary power; whether it be that thoſe who govern do really believe that the people were born to obey, or whether they think, that, by extending their own power, they increaſe the ſtrength of the public. Thoſe falſe politicians are not aware, that, with ſuch principles, a ſtate is like an over-ſtrained ſpring, which will break at laſt, and recoil againſt the hand that bends it. The preſent ſituation of the continent of South America but too plainly evinces the juſtneſs of this compariſon. Let us now proceed to ſhow the effects of a different conduct in the American iſlands.

BOOK X.

Settlement of the European nations in the great Archipelago of America.

Conſiderations upon the conduct of all the European nations in the New World.

HITHERTO we have been only proceeding from one ſcene of horror to another, in following the ſteps of the Spaniards and of the Portugueſe. Let us now ſee whether the Engliſh, French, Hollanders, and Danes, whom we are going to accompany into the iſlands, have ſhown themſelves leſs ſavage than thoſe who took poſſeſſion of the continent. Will the inhabitants of theſe limited ſpaces be expoſed to the deplorable deſtiny of the Peruvians, of the Mexicans, and of the Brazilians? Is it poſſible that civilized men, who have all lived in their country under forms of government, if not wiſe, at leaſt ancient; who have all been bred up in places where they were inſtructed with the leſſons, and ſometimes with the example of virtue; who were all brought up in the midſt of poliſhed cities, in which a rigid exerciſe of juſtice muſt have accuſtomed them to reſpect their fellow-creatures; is it poſſible that all ſuch men, without exception, ſhould purſue a line of conduct equally contrary to the principles of humanity, to their intereſt, to their ſafety, and to the firſt dawnings of reaſon; and that they ſhould continue to become more barbarous than the ſavage? Shall I for ever be reduced to the neceſſity of preſenting none but horrid images? Good God! For what an office was I deſtined? This change of character, in the European who quits his country, is a phenomenon of ſo extraordinary a nature, the imagination is ſo deeply affected with it, that, while it attends to it with aſtoniſhment, reflection tortures itſelf in endeavouring to find out the principle of it, whether it exiſt in human nature in general, or in the peculiar character of the navigators, or in the circumſtances preceding or poſterior to the event.

It is a queſtion which naturally occurs, Whether a man who is freed, by whatſoever cauſe, from the reſtraint of the laws, be not more wicked than the man who hath never felt this reſtraint? Perſons who are ſufficiently diſſatisfied with their lot, ſufficiently deprived of reſources in their own country; ſufficiently poor, or ſufficiently ambitious to entertain a contempt for life, and to expoſe themſelves to infinite dangers and labours, upon the precarious hope of making a rapid fortune, do they not carry about with them the fatal ſeeds of a ſpirit of depredation, which muſt unavoidably have manifeſted itſelf with inconceivable rapidity and violence when they came into another climate, far from the effects of public reſentment; and when they were no longer awed by the preſence of their fellow-citizens, or reſtrained by ſhame or fear? Doth not the hiſtory of all ſocieties prove to us, that thoſe men on whom nature hath beſtowed an extraordinary degree of energy, are moſt commonly villains? The danger of a long ſtay, and the neceſſity of a ſpeedy return, added to the deſire of juſtifying the expences incurred in the enterpriſe, by a diſplay of the riches of the lately diſcovered countries, muſt neceſſarily have occaſioned and accelerated the violent ſteps taken to acquire the poſſeſſion of them. Did not the chiefs of the enterpriſe, and their companions, terrified by the dangers they had undergone, by thoſe which they were ſtill to undergo, and by the miſeries they had ſuffered, did they not determine to make themſelves amends for their ſufferings, like men who were reſolved not to expoſe themſelves to them a ſecond time? Did the idea of forming a colony in thoſe diſtant regions, and of increaſing the dominions of their ſovereign with them, ever preſent itſelf diſtinctly to the minds of theſe firſt adventurers; and did not the New World rather appear to them as a rich prey that was to be devoured, than as a conqueſt which they ought to protect? Was not the miſchief begun by theſe atrocious motives, perpetuated, ſometimes by the indifference of miniſters, and ſometimes by the diviſions between the European nations; and was it not arrived to the utmoſt pitch, when times of tranquillity inſpired our governments with more rational principles? Had the firſt deputies, to whom the authority and inſpection of thoſe countries had been intruſted, or could they have the knowledge and the virtue requiſite to make themſelves beloved by the natives, to conciliate their reſpect and confidence, and to eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of police and laws among them? Did they not, on the contrary, carry along with them, to thoſe diſtant regions, the ſame thirſt of gold which had laid them waſte? Could it be expected, that, at the origin of theſe ſettlements, a plan of adminiſtration could be formed, which the experience of ſeveral centuries hath not been capable of eſtabliſhing? Is it poſſible, even in our days, to rule nations which are ſeparated by immenſe ſeas from the mother-country, in the ſame manner as ſubjects who are ſituated immediately under the eye of the ſovereign? Since diſtant poſts are never ſolicited and filled, unleſs by indigent, rapacious men, without talents or morals, ſtrangers to all ſentiment of honour, and to every idea of equity; the refuſe of the higher ranks of the ſtate, muſt we not conſider the ſplendour of the colonies, in after-times, as a chimerical notion; and will not the future happineſs of theſe regions be a phenomenon ſtill more ſurpriſing than their firſt devaſtation was?

Accurſed, therefore, be the moment of their diſcovery! And you, European ſovereigns, what motive can excite your jealous ambition for poſſeſſions, the miſery of which you can only perpetuate? And why do ye not reſtore them to themſelves, if ye deſpair of making them happy? I have, more than once, ventured, in the courſe of this work, to point out to you the means of accompliſhing this: but I am much afraid that my voice hath only exclaimed, and will only exclaim in the deſert.

America contains, between the eighth and the thirty-ſecond degree of northern latitude, the moſt numerous, extenſive, and rich Archipelago, the ocean hath yet diſplayed to the curioſity, the induſtry, and avidity of the Europeans. The iſlands that compoſe it are known, ſince the diſcovery of the New World, by the name of the Caribbees. Thoſe that lie neareſt the eaſt have been called the Windward Iſlands, the others the Leeward, on account of the wind's blowing generally from the eaſtern point in thoſe quarters. They form a continued chain, one end of which ſeems to be attached to the continent near the Gulf of Maracaybo, the other to cloſe the entrance of the Gulf of Mexico. They may, perhaps, with ſome degree of reaſon, be conſidered as the tops of very high mountains formerly belonging to the continent, and which have been changed into iſlands, by ſome revolution that hath laid all the flat country under water.

All the iſlands of the world ſeem to have been detached from the continent by ſubterraneous fires or earthquakes.

Is it probable that the American iſlands have been detached from the neighbouring continent?

The celebrated Atlantica, the very name of which hath been buried in oblivion ſome thouſand years ago, was a large tract of land ſituated between Africa and America. Several circumſtances render it probable that England was formerly a part of France; and Sicily hath evidently been detached from Italy. The Cape de Verde iſlands, the Azores, Madeira, and the Canaries, muſt have been part of the neighbouring continents, or of others that have been deſtroyed. The late obſervations of Engliſh navigators leave us ſcarce any room to doubt that all the iſlands of the South Sea formerly compoſed one entire continent.

New Zealand, the largeſt of them, is full of mountains, on which may be perceived the marks of extinguiſhed volcanos. Its inhabitants are neither beardleſs nor copper-coloured, as thoſe of America; and, though they be ſeparated ſix hundred and eighty leagues from each other, they ſpeak the ſame language as the natives of the iſland of Otaheite, diſcovered a few years ago.

Indiſputable monuments evince that ſuch changes have happened, of which the attentive naturaliſt every where perceives ſome traces ſtill remaining. Shells of every kind, corals, beds of oyſters, ſea-fiſh, entire or broken, regularly heaped up in every quarter of the globe, in places the moſt diſtant from the ſea, in the bowels and on the ſurfaces of mountains; the variableneſs of the continent, ſubject to all the changes of the ocean, by which it is conſtantly beaten, worn away, or ſubverted: while at a diſtance, perhaps, on one ſide it loſes immenſe tracts of land; on the other diſcovers to us new countries, and long banks of ſand heaped up before thoſe cities that formerly were celebrated ſea-ports: the horizontal and parallel poſition of the ſtrata of the earth, and of marine productions collected and heaped up alternately in the ſame order, compoſed of the ſame materials, that are regularly cemented by the conſtant and ſucceſſive exertion of the ſame cauſe: the correſpondent ſimilarity obſervable between ſuch coaſts as are ſeparated by an arm of the ſea; on one ſide of which may be perceived ſalient angles oppoſite to re-entering angles on the other; on the right hand, beds of the ſame kind of ſand, or ſimilar petrifactions, diſpoſed on a level with ſimilar ſtrata extending to the left: the direction of mountains and rivers towards the ſea as to their common origin: the formation of hills and valleys, on which this immenſe body of fluid hath, as it were, ſtamped indelible marks of its undulations: all theſe ſeveral circumſtances atteſt, that the ocean hath broken its natural limits, or, perhaps, that its limits have never been inſurmountable; and that varying the ſurface of the globe, according to the irregularity of its own motions, it hath alternately taken the earth from its inhabitants, and reſtored it to them again. Hence thoſe ſucceſſive, though never univerſal, deluges that have covered the face of the earth, but not rendered it totally inviſible to us at once; for the waters, acting at the ſame time in the cavities and on the ſurface of the globe, cannot poſſibly increaſe the depth of their beds, without diminiſhing their breadth; or overflow on one ſide, without leaving dry land on the other; nor can we conceive any alteration in the whole ſyſtem that can poſſibly have made all the mountains diſappear at once, and occaſioned the ſea to riſe above their ſummits. What a ſudden transformation muſt have forced all the rocks and every ſolid particle of matter to the centre of the earth, to draw out of its inmoſt receſſes and channels all thoſe fluids which animate it; and thus blending its ſeveral elements together, produce a maſs of waters and uſeleſs germina floating in the air? Is it not enough that each hemiſphere alternately becomes a prey to the devaſtations of the ocean? Such conſtant ſhocks as theſe have doubtleſs ſo long concealed from us the New World, and, perhaps, ſwallowed up that continent, which, as it is imagined, had been only ſeparated from our own.

Whatever may be the ſecret cauſes of theſe particular revolutions, the general cauſe of which reſults from the known and univerſal laws of motion, their effects, however, will be always ſenſible to every man, who hath the reſolution and ſagacity to perceive them. They will be more particularly evident in regard to the Caribbee Iſlands, if it can ever be proved that they undergo violent ſhocks whenever the volcanos of the Cordeleras throw out their contents, or when all Peru is ſhaken. This Archipelago, as well as that of the Eaſt Indies, ſituated nearly in the ſame degree of latitude, ſeems to be produced by the ſame cauſe; namely, the motion of the ſea from eaſt to weſt: a motion impreſſed by that which cauſes the earth's revolution from weſt to eaſt; more rapid at the equator, where the globe of the earth, being more elevated, revolves in a larger circle, and in a more agitated zone; where the ocean ſeems, as it were, willing to break through all the boundaries nature oppoſes to it, and, opening to itſelf a free and uninterrupted courſe, forms the equinoctial line.

The direction of the Caribbee Iſlands, beginning from Tobago, is nearly North and N. N. W. This direction is continued from one iſland to another, forming a line ſomewhat curved towards the north-weſt, and ending at Antigua. In this place the line becomes at once curved, and, extending itſelf in a ſtraight direction to the W. and N. W. meets, in its courſe, with Porto-Rico, St. Domingo, and Cuba, known by the name of the Leeward Iſlands, which are ſeparated from each other by channels of various breadths. Some of theſe are ſix, others fifteen or twenty leagues broad; but the ſoundings, in all of them, are from a hundred to a hundred and twenty or a hundred and fifty fathom. Between Grenada and St. Vincent's, there is alſo a ſmall Archipelago of thirty leagues, in which ſometimes the ſoundings are not ten fathom.

The mountains in the Caribbee Iſlands run in the ſame direction as the iſlands themſelves. This direction is ſo regular, that if we were to conſider the tops of theſe mountains only, independent of their baſis, they might be looked upon as a chain of hills belonging to the continent, of which Martinico would be the moſt north-weſterly promontory.

The ſprings of water which flow from the mountains in the Windward Iſlands run all in the weſtern part of theſe iſlands. The whole eaſtern coaſt, that which, according to our conjectures, hath always been covered by the ſea, is without any running water. No ſprings come down there from the mountains; they would, indeed, have been uſeleſs, for, after having run over a very ſhort tract of land, and with great rapidity, they would have fallen into the ſea.

In Porto-Rico, St. Domingo, and Cuba, there are a few rivers which diſcharge themſelves into the ſea on the northern ſide, and the ſources of which riſe in the mountains, running from eaſt to weſt, that is, through the whole length of theſe iſlands. Theſe rivers water a conſiderable extent of low country, which hath certainly never been covered by the ſea. From the other ſide of the mountains facing the ſouth, where the ſea, flowing with great impetuoſity, leaves behind it marks of its inundations, ſeveral rivers flow into theſe three iſlands, ſome of which are conſiderable enough to receive the largeſt ſhips.

Theſe obſervations, which ſeem to prove that the ſea hath ſeparated the Caribbee Iſlands from the continent, are further confirmed by others of a different kind, though equally concluſive in ſupport of this conjecture. Tobago, Margaretta, and Trinidad, iſlands that are the neareſt to the continent, produce, as well as the Caribbees, trees, the wood of which is ſoft, and wild cocoa. This particular ſpecies is not to be found, at leaſt in any quantity, in the northern iſlands. In theſe the only wood we meet with is hard. Cuba, ſituated at the other extremity of the Caribbees, abounds, like Florida, from which, perhaps, it hath been ſeparated, with cedars and cypreſſes, both equally uſeful for the building of ſhips.

Nature of the ſoil of the Caribbee Iſlands. Vegetables found there before the invaſion.

The ſoil of the Caribbees conſiſts moſtly of a layer of clay or gravel, of different thickneſs; under which is a bed of ſtone or rock. The nature of ſome of theſe ſoils is better adapted to vegetation than others. In thoſe places where the clay is drier and more friable, and mixes with the leaves and remains of plants, a layer of earth is formed, of greater depth than where the clay is moiſter. The ſand or gravel has different properties, according to its peculiar nature; wherever it is leſs hard, leſs compact, and leſs porous, ſmall pieces ſeparate themſelves from it; which, though dry, preſerve a certain degree of coolneſs uſeful to vegetation. This ſoil is called in America, a pumiceſtone ſoil. Wherever the clay and gravel do not go through ſuch modifications, the ſoil becomes barren, as ſoon as the layer, formed by the decompoſition of the original plants, is deſtroyed, from the neceſſity there is of weeding it, which too frequently expoſes its ſalts to the heat of the ſun. Hence, in thoſe cultures which require leſs weeding, and where the plant covers with its leaves the vegetable ſalts, there the fertility of the ground has been preſerved.

When the Europeans landed at the Caribbee Iſlands, they found them covered with large trees, connected, as it were, to one another by a ſpecies of creeping plant; which, riſing up in the ſame manner as the ivy, wove itſelf around all the branches, and concealed them from the ſight. There was ſo great a plenty of this plant, and it grew ſo thick, that it was impoſſible to penetrate into the woods before it was cut down. From its great degree of flexibility it was called Liane. In theſe foreſts, as old as the world itſelf, there were varieties of trees, which, from a ſingular partiality of nature, were very lofty, exceeding ſtraight, and without any excreſcences or defects. The annual fall and breaking down of the leaves, and the decay of the trunks rotted away by time, formed a moiſt ſediment upon the ground; which being cleared, occaſioned a ſurpriſing degree of vegetation in thoſe plants that were ſubſtituted to the trees that were rooted up.

In whatever ſoil theſe trees grew, their roots were ſcarcely two feet deep, and generally much leſs: though they extended themſelves on the ſurface, in proportion to the weight they had to ſupport. The exceſſive dryneſs of the ground, where the moſt plentiful rains never penetrate very deep, as they are ſoon attracted by the ſun-beams, and the conſtant dews that moiſten the ſurface, made the roots of theſe plants extend themſelves horizontally, inſtead of deſcending perpendicularly, as they generally do in other climates.

The trees that grew on the tops of mountains and in ſteep places were very hard. The ſharpeſt cutting inſtrument could ſcarcely make any impreſſion upon them. Such were the agouti, the palm-tree, the barata wood, which have ſince been uſefully employed in building. Such were the courbari, the acajou, the manchineel, and the iron-wood, which have been found fit for joiner's work. Such is the acoma, which being either put into the ground, or expoſed to the air, is preſerved for a long time without being attacked by the worms, or rotted by the damp. Such the maple, the trunk of which, being four or five feet in diameter, and the ſtem from forty to fifty feet high, ſerved to make a canoe of one ſingle piece.

The valleys, which are rendered fertile by the mountains, are covered with ſoft wood. At the foot of theſe trees grow promiſcuouſly thoſe plants that the liberality of the ſoil produced for the ſubſiſtence of the natives of the country. Thoſe in moſt general uſe were the yam, the Caribbee cabbage, and the battata, the roots of which being tuberoſe, like thoſe of the potato, might equally afford a wholeſome nouriſhment. Nature, which appears to have eſtabliſhed a certain analogy between the characters of people and the proviſions intended for their ſupport, had provided the Caribbee Iſlands with ſuch vegetables as could not bear the heat of the ſun, flouriſhed beſt in moiſt places, required no cultivation, and were renewed two or three times in the year. The iſlanders did not thwart the free and ſpontaneous operations of nature, by deſtroying one of her productions, to give the greater vigour to another. The preparation of the vegetating ſalts was entirely left to the mere effect of the ſoil; nor did the natives pretend to fix the place and time of her fertility. They gathered, as chance threw in their way, or the ſeaſon pointed out, ſuch fruits as ſpontaneouſly offered themſelves for their ſupport. They had obſerved, that the putrefaction of the weeds was neceſſary to the reproduction of thoſe plants that were moſt uſeful to them.

The roots of theſe plants were never unwholeſome; but they were inſipid when raw, and had very little flavour even when boiled, unleſs they were ſeaſoned with pimento. When mixed with ginger, and the acid juice of a plant ſomewhat reſembling our ſorrel, they produced a ſtrong liquor, which was the only compound drink of the ſavages. The only art they made uſe of in preparing it, was ſuffering it to ferment ſome days in common water, expoſed to the heat of the ſun.

Excluſive of this nouriſhment, the iſlands alſo ſupplied the inhabitants with a great variety of fruits, but very different from ours. The moſt uſeful among theſe was the banana. The root of the banana tree is tuberoſe and hairy. Its ſtem, which is ſlender and ſoft, grows to ſeven feet at its utmoſt height, and is eight inches in diameter: it is compoſed of ſeveral coats, or concentric ſheaths, tolerably thick, and each of them terminated by a firm petiole, hollowed in form of a gutter, and which ſupports a leaf of ſix feet long, and two feet wide. Theſe leaves, collected in a ſmall number at the bottom of the ſtem, bend by their own weight, and dry up one after the other. They are thin, very ſmooth, green on the upper ſurface, of a paler colour on the under, and furniſhed with parallel fibres, which are very cloſe to each other, are joined at the coſta, and give the leaf a ſatiny appearance. At the end of nine months, the banana tree puſhes out from the midſt of its leaves, when they are all unfolded, a ſprig of three or four feet long, and two feet in diameter, furniſhed at intervals with ſemicircular bands, which each of them ſupports, a cluſter of a dozen or more flowers, covered with a ſpatha, or membranous encloſure. Each piſtil is charged with a ſtile of ſix ſtamina and one calix, with two leaves, one external, lengthened out, and terminated by five indentations; the other internal, ſhorter, and concave. This piſtil, and one of the ſtamina, are abortive in the flowers at the extremity, the cluſters of which are ſmall, cloſe, and concealed under coloured and permanent encloſures. In the other flowers, five of the ſtamina are found abortive; but the piſtil becomes a fleſhy fruit, elongated, ſlightly arched, covered with a yellow and thick pellicle, and filled with a pulpy, yellowiſh ſubſtance, of a ſweetiſh taſte, and very nouriſhing. The aſſemblage of theſe fruits, to the number of fifty and upwards, upon the ſame ſtem, is called a *regime* of bananas; which is as much as a man can carry. While it is upon the ſtem, its weight makes it bend towards the ground. As ſoon as it is gathered, this ſtem dries up, and is ſucceeded by freſh ſprigs, which come out of the root, and flower nine months after, or later, when they are tranſplanted. There is no other way of multiplying the banana tree, which never yields any ſeed.

This plant exhibits a number of varieties, which conſiſt only in the form, the ſize, and the goodneſs of the fruit. It is agreeable to the taſte, and is eaten raw, or prepared in ſeveral ways.

One ſingular circumſtance worthy of remark is, that while the voracious plant, which we have termed Liane, climbed round all the barren trees, it avoided the fertile ones, though promiſcuouſly blended with the former. Nature ſeemed, as it were, to have preſcribed to it, to reſpect what ſhe had deſtined for the ſuſtenance of man.

The iſlanders were not ſo plentifully ſupplied with pot-herbs, as with roots and fruits. Purſlain and creſſes were the only herbs of this kind they had.

Their other food was confined within a very narrow compaſs: they had no tame fowl; and the only quadrupeds that were fit for food did not amount to more than five ſorts, the largeſt of which did not exceed in ſize our common rabbits. The birds, more pleaſing to the eye, though leſs varied than in our climates, were valuable almoſt only on account of their feathers: few of them warbled forth thoſe melting notes that are ſo captivating to the ear; moſt of them were extremely thin, and very inſipid to the taſte. Fiſh was nearly as plentiful as in other ſeas, but generally leſs wholeſome and leſs delicate.

The virtues of the plants that nature had placed in theſe iſlands, to cure the very few diſorders the inhabitants were ſubject to, can ſcarce be exaggerated. Whether they were applied externally, or taken internally, or the juice of them given in infuſion, their effects were as ſpeedy as ſalutary. The invaders of thoſe formerly peaceable regions have employed theſe ſimples, which are always green and in full vigour, and preferred them to all the medicines that Aſia can furniſh to the reſt of the world.

Is the climate of theſe iſlands agreeable and wholeſome?

The generality of the inhabitants of theſe iſlands conſider but two ſeaſons among them, that of drought and that of rain. Nature, whoſe operations are conſtant, and concealed under a perpetual verdure, appears to them to act always uniformly. But thoſe who attentively obſerve her progreſs, diſcern, that in the temperature of the climate, in all the revolutions and the changes of vegetation, ſhe obſerves the ſame laws as in Europe, though in a leſs ſenſible manner.

Theſe almoſt imperceptible changes are no preſervative againſt the dangers and inconveniences of ſuch a ſcorching climate as muſt be naturally expected under the torrid zone. As theſe iſlands are all under the tropics, their inhabitants are expoſed, allowing for the varieties reſulting from difference of ſituation and of ſoil, to a perpetual heat, which generally increaſes from the riſing of the ſun till an hour after noon, and then decreaſes in proportion as the ſun declines. A covered ſky, that might ſerve to alleviate this heat, is ſeldom ſeen. Sometimes, indeed, clouds appear for an hour or two; but the ſun is never hid for four days during the whole year.

The variations in the temperature of the air depend rather upon the wind, than the changes of the ſeaſons. In thoſe places where the wind doth not blow, the air is exceſſively hot, and none but the eaſterly winds contribute to temperate and refreſh it; thoſe that blow from the ſouth and weſt afford little relief, but they are much leſs frequent and leſs regular than that which comes from the eaſt. The branches of the trees expoſed to its influence are forced round towards the weſt, in that direction which they ſeemed to be thrown into by the conſtant and uniform courſe of the wind. But their roots are ſtronger, and more extended under ground towards the eaſt, in order to afford them, as it were, a fixed point, the reſiſtance of which may counteract the power of the ruling wind. Accordingly, it hath been obſerved, that, whenever the weſterly wind blows with any violence, the trees are eaſily thrown down: in order, therefore, to judge of the violence of a hurricane, the number of trees, as well as the direction in which they fall, is equally to be conſidered.

The eaſterly wind depends upon two invariable cauſes, the probability of which is very ſtriking. The firſt ariſes from the diurnal motion of the earth from weſt to eaſt, and which muſt neceſſarily be more rapid under the equinoctial than under the parallels of latitude, becauſe a greater ſpace muſt be paſſed over in the ſame time. The ſecond is owing to the heat of the ſun, which, as ſoon as it riſes above the horizon, rarefies the air, and cauſes it to blow towards the weſt, in proportion as the earth revolves towards the eaſt.

The eaſterly wind, therefore, which at the Caribbee Iſlands is ſcarcely felt before nine or ten o'clock in the morning, increaſes in proportion as the ſun riſes above the horizon, and decreaſes as it declines. Towards the evening it ceaſes entirely to blow on the coaſts, but not on the open ſea. The reaſons of this difference are very evident. After the ſetting of the ſun, the air from the land, that continues for a conſiderable time rarefied, on account of the vapours which are conſtantly riſing from the heated globe, neceſſarily flows back upon the air of the ſea: this is what is generally called a Land Breeze. It is moſt ſenſibly felt in the night, and continues till the air of the ſea, rarefied by the heat of the ſun, flows back again towards the land, where the air hath been condenſed by the coolneſs of the night. It hath alſo been obſerved, that the eaſterly wind blows more regularly, and with greater force, in the dog-days, than at any other times of the year; becauſe the ſun then acts more powerfully on the air. Thus nature cauſes the exceſſive heat of the ſun to contribute to the refreſhment of thoſe climates that are parched up by its rays. It is thus, that in fire-engines art makes the fire inſtrumental in ſupplying conſtantly with freſh water the copper veſſels from which it is exhauſted by evaporation.

The rain contributes alſo to the temperature of the American iſlands, though not equally in them all. In thoſe places where the eaſterly wind meets with nothing to oppoſe its progreſs, it diſpels the clouds as they begin to riſe, and compels them to break, either in the woods, or upon the mountains. But whenever the ſtorms are too violent, or the blowing of the eaſterly wind is interrupted by the changeable and temporary effect of the ſouthern and weſterly ones, it then begins to rain. In the other Caribbee Iſlands, where this wind doth not generally blow, the rains are ſo frequent and plentiful, eſpecially in the winter ſeaſon, which laſts from the middle of July to the middle of October, that, according to the moſt accurate obſervations, as much water falls in one week, during this time, as in our climates in the ſpace of a year. Inſtead of thoſe mild and refreſhing ſhowers which we ſometimes enjoy in Europe, the rains in theſe climates are torrents, the ſound of which might be miſtaken for that of hail, if this were not almoſt unknown under ſo burning a ſky.

Theſe ſhowers, it muſt be allowed, refreſh the air; but they occaſion a dampneſs, the effects of which are no leſs diſagreeable than fatal. The dead muſt be interred within a few hours after they have expired. Meat will not keep ſweet above four-and-twenty hours. The fruits decay, whether they are gathered ripe, or before their maturity. The bread muſt be made up into biſcuits, to prevent its growing mouldy. Common wines ſoon turn ſour; and iron grows ruſty in a day's time. The ſeeds can only be preſerved by conſtant attention and care, till the proper ſeaſon returns for ſowing them. When the Caribbee Iſlands were firſt diſcovered, the corn that was conveyed there for the ſupport of thoſe who could not accuſtom themſelves to the food of the natives of the country, was ſo ſoon damaged, that it became neceſſary to ſend it in the ears. This neceſſary precaution enhanced the price of it ſo much, that few people were able to buy it. Flour was then ſubſtituted in lieu of corn, which lowered, indeed, the expences of tranſport, but was attended with this inconvenience, that it was ſooner damaged. It was imagined by a merchant, that if the flour were entirely ſeparated from the bran, which contributes to its fermentation, it would have the double advantage of cheapneſs and of keeping longer. He cauſed it therefore to be ſifted, and put the fineſt flour into ſtrong caſks, and beat it cloſe together with iron hammers, till it became ſo hard a body, that the air could ſcarce penetrate it. Experience juſtified ſo ſenſible a contrivance: the practice of it hath become general, and been conſiderably improved ever ſince.

It was thought that nothing more remained to be done, when M. du Hamel propoſed another precaution, that of drying the flour in ſtoves, before it was embarked. This idea attracted the attention of the French miniſtry. Flour prepared in the new way, and ſome according to the former mode, was ſent to the other hemiſphere. Upon their return, the firſt had loſt nothing, and the laſt was half rotten, and deprived of its glutinous property. The ſame reſult hath attended all the experiments. It is pleaſing to hope, that a diſcovery ſo uſeful will not be loſt, for the nations that have formed ſettlements to the ſouth of America. If it doth not ſecure to the proviſions the ſame degree of duration that they have in our dry and temperate climates, they will not at leaſt be corrupted ſo ſoon, and will be preſerved for a longer time.

Ordinary phenomenon in the iſlands.

However troubleſome theſe natural effects of the rain may be, it is attended with ſome ſtill more formidable; ſuch as frequent and ſometimes dreadful earthquakes in the iſlands. As they generally happen during the time, or towards the end of the rainy ſeaſon, and when the tides are higheſt, ſome ingenious naturaliſts have therefore ſuppoſed that they might be owing to theſe two cauſes.

The waters of the ſky and of the ſea undermine, dig up, and ravage the earth in ſeveral ways. The ocean, in particular, exerts its fury upon this globe with a violence that can neither be foreſeen nor prevented. Among the various ſhocks to which it is conſtantly expoſed, from this reſtleſs and boiſterous element, there is one, which, at the Caribbee Iſlands, is diſtinguiſhed by the name of *raz de marée*, or whirlpool. It conſtantly happens once, twice, or three times, from July to October, and always on the weſtern coaſts; becauſe it takes place after the time of the weſterly and ſoutherly winds, or while they blow. The waves, which at a diſtance ſeem to advance gently within four or five hundred yards, ſuddenly ſwell againſt the ſhore, as if acted upon in an oblique direction by ſome ſuperior force, and break with the greateſt impetuoſity. The ſhips which are then upon the coaſt, or in the roads beyond it, unable either to put to ſea or keep their anchors, are daſhed to pieces againſt the land, leaving the unhappy ſailors entirely without hopes of eſcaping that certain death, the approaches of which they have been expecting for ſeveral hours.

So extraordinary a motion of the ſea hath been hitherto conſidered as the conſequence of a ſtorm. But a ſtorm follows the direction of the wind, from one point of the compaſs to another; and whirlpools are felt in one part of an iſland that is ſheltered by another iſland, where the ſhock is not at all perceived. This obſervation hath induced Mr. Dutaſta, who has travelled through Africa and America, as a natural philoſopher, a merchant, and a ſtateſman, to ſeek for a more probable cauſe of this ſingular phenomenon. He hath not only diſcovered this, but alſo ſeveral other truths that may be uſeful to many of the ſciences, if he ſhould ever make them public. We ſhall then, probably, acquire more certain information concerning hurricanes.

The hurricane is a violent wind, generally accompanied with rain, lightning, and thunder, ſometimes with earthquakes; and always attended with the moſt melancholy and fatal conſequences that the wind can produce. The day, which in the torrid zone is uſually bright and clear, is ſuddenly changed into a dark and univerſal night; the appearance of a perpetual ſpring into the drearineſs and horror of the moſt gloomy winter. Trees, as ancient as the world itſelf, are torn up by the roots, and inſtantly diſappear. The ſtrongeſt and the moſt ſolid buildings are in a moment buried in ruins. Where the eye delighted itſelf with the proſpect of rich and verdant hills, nothing is to be ſeen but plantations entirely deſtroyed, and frightful caverns. The unhappy ſufferers, deprived of their whole ſupport, weep over the carcaſes of the dead, or ſearch among the ruins for their friends and relations. The noiſe of the waters, of the woods, of the thunder, and of the winds, that break againſt the ſhattered rocks; the cries and howlings of men and animals, promiſcuouſly involved in a whirlwind of ſand, ſtones, and ruins of buildings: all together ſeem to portend the laſt ſtruggles of expiring nature.

Theſe hurricanes, however, contribute to produce more plentiful crops, and to ripen the fruits of the earth. Whether theſe violent concuſſions tear up the ground, in order to render it more fertile, or whether the hurricane brings along with it certain ſubſtances fit to promote the vegetation of plants, is not eaſily determined: but it hath been obſerved, that this ſeeming and temporary confuſion was not only a conſequence of the uniformity of nature, which makes even diſſolution itſelf inſtrumental to regeneration, but alſo the means of preſerving the general ſyſtem, the life and vigour of which is maintained by an internal fermentation, the ſource of partial evil and of general good.

The firſt inhabitants of the Caribbee Iſlands imagined that they had diſcovered infallible prognoſtics of this alarming phenomenon. They obſerved, that, when it was near at hand, the air was miſty, the ſun red, and yet the weather calm, and the tops of the mountains clear. Under the earth, and in the reſervoirs of water, a dull ſound was heard, like that ariſing from pent-up winds. The ſtars were clouded by a vapour, that made them appear larger. The ſky, in the north-weſt, was overſpread with dark and black clouds, that ſeemed very alarming. The ſea ſent forth a ſtrong and diſagreeable ſmell, and, in the midſt of a calm, was ſuddenly agitated. The wind changed in a moment from eaſt to weſt, and blew very violently at different intervals, each of which continued for two hours together.

Though the truth of all theſe obſervations cannot be aſcertained, yet to pay no attention to the ideas, and even prejudices, of ſavage nations on times and ſeaſons, would be a ſeeming indication of imprudence, or of a mind too little addicted to philoſophical inquiries. The want of employment of theſe people, and their being habituated to live in open air, afford them an opportunity, and put them under a neceſſity, of obſerving the ſmalleſt alterations in the air, and of acquiring ſuch informations on this point, as have eſcaped the more enlightened nations, which are more employed, and more devoted to works of a ſedentary nature. Poſſibly we muſt be indebted to the man who dwells in the foreſts for the diſcovery of effects, and to the learned man for the inveſtigation of cauſes. Let us trace, if poſſible, the cauſe of hurricanes, a phenomenon ſo frequent in America, that this alone would have been ſufficient to make it be deſerted, or render it uninhabitable many ages ago.

No hurricanes come from the eaſt, that is, from the greateſt extent of the ſea at the Caribbee Iſlands. As this is an acknowledged fact, it would induce us to believe, that they are formed on the continent of America. The weſt wind which blows conſtantly, and ſometimes very violently in the ſouthern parts, from July to January, and the north wind blowing at the ſame time in the northern parts, muſt, when they meet, oppoſe each other with a force proportionate to their natural velocity. If this ſhock happens in the long and narrow paſſes of the mountains, it muſt occaſion a ſtrong current of air, that will extend itſelf in a compound ratio of the moving power, and the diameter of the narrow paſs of the mountain. Every ſolid body that meets this current of air, will be impreſſed with a degree of force proportioned to the extent of ſurface it oppoſes to the current; ſo that if the poſition of that ſurface ſhould be perpendicular to the direction of the hurricane, it is impoſſible to determine what effect might be produced upon the whole maſs. Fortunately, the different bearings of the coaſt of theſe iſlands, and their angular or ſpherical figure, occaſion theſe dreadful hurricanes to fall upon ſurfaces more or leſs oblique, which divert the current of air, break its force, and gradually deſtroy its effects. Experience alſo proves, that their action is by degrees ſo much weakened, that even in the direction where the hurricane falls with moſt force, it is ſcarce felt at ten leagues diſtance. The moſt accurate obſervers have remarked, that all the hurricanes which have ſucceſſively ſubverted the iſlands, came from the north-weſt, and conſequently from the narrow paſſes formed by the mountains of St. Martha. The diſtance of ſome iſlands from this direction, is not a ſufficient reaſon for rejecting this opinion; as ſeveral cauſes may contribute to divert a current of air to the ſouth or eaſt. We cannot help thinking, therefore, that thoſe perſons have been in an error, who have aſſerted, that the violence of a hurricane was felt under whatever point of the compaſs the wind came from. Such are the deſtructive phenomena Nature hath oppoſed to the acquiſition of the riches of the New World: but what barrier could reſtrain the daring ſpirit of the navigator who diſcovered it?

Cuſtoms of the Caribs, the ancient inhabitants of the Windward Iſlands.

Chriſtopher Columbus having firſt formed a ſettlement at St. Domingo, one of the Greater Antilles, diſcovered the Leſs. The iſlanders he had to encounter there, were not ſo weak and cowardly as thoſe he had at firſt ſubdued. The Caribs, who thought they originally came from Guiana, were of moderate ſtature, thick ſet and ſtrong, and ſuch as ſeemed adapted to form men of ſuperior ſtrength, if their manner of life and exerciſes had ſeconded theſe natural appearances. Their legs, thick and muſcular, were generally well made; their eyes black, large, and ſomewhat prominent. Their whole figure would have been pleaſing, had they not ſpoiled their natural beauty by fancied and artificial ornaments, which could only be agreeable among themſelves. The eye-brows and the head were the only parts of the body on which they ſuffered any hair to grow. They wore no garment, nor had this any influence on their chaſtity. In order to guard againſt the bite of inſects, they painted all their bodies over with the juice of the rocou, or arnotto, which gave them the appearance of a boiled lobſter.

Their religion conſiſted only in ſome confuſed belief of a good and bad principle; an opinion ſo natural to man, that we find it diffuſed among the moſt ſavage nations, and preſerved even among many civilized people. They were little concerned about the tutelary divinity, but had the greateſt dread of the evil principle. Their other ſuperſtitions were more abſurd than dangerous, and they were but little attached to them. This indifference did not contribute to render them more ready to embrace Chriſtianity when it was propoſed to them. Without entering into diſpute with thoſe who expounded the doctrines, they contented themſelves with rejecting the belief of them, *for fear*, as they ſaid, *that their neighbours ſhould laugh at them.*

Though the Caribs had no regular form of government among them, yet they lived quietly and peaceably with one another. The tranquillity they enjoyed, was entirely owing to that innate principle of compaſſion which precedes all reflection; and is the ſource of all ſocial virtues. This humane ſpirit of benevolence ariſes from the very frame and nature of man, whoſe ſelf-love alone is ſufficient to make him abhor the ſufferings of his fellow creatures. To infuſe, therefore, a ſpirit of humanity into the minds of tyrants, it would only be neceſſary to make them the executioners of thoſe victims they ſacrifice to their pride, and of thoſe cruelties they order to be practiſed upon others. The hands of thoſe voluptuaries ſhould be obliged to mutilate the eunuchs of their ſeraglios; they ſhould be forced to attend the field of battle; they ſhould there behold the bleeding wounds, hear the imprecations, and be witneſſes of the agonies and convulſions of their dying ſoldiers; they ſhould next attend the hoſpitals, and at leiſure contemplate the wounds, the fractures, the diſeaſes occaſioned by famine, by labours equally dangerous and unwholeſome, by cruel ſervices and taxes, and by the other calamities which ariſe from the vices and profligacy of their manners. How greatly would ſcenes like theſe, occaſionally introduced in the education of princes, contribute to leſſen the crimes and ſufferings of the human race! What benefits would not the people derive from the compaſſionate emotions of their ſovereigns?

Among the Caribs, whoſe hearts were not depraved by the pernicious inſtitutions that corrupt us, neither adultery, treaſon, nor maſſacres, ſo common among civilized nations, were known. Religion, the laws, and penal puniſhments, thoſe barriers raiſed to protect old cuſtoms from the encroachments of new ones, were uſeleſs to men who followed nature alone. Theft was never heard of among theſe ſavages, before the Europeans came among them. When they diſcovered any thing miſſing, they obſerved, *that the Chriſtians had been with them.*

Theſe iſlanders were little acquainted with the ſtrongeſt paſſions of the ſoul, not even with that of love. This paſſion was with them merely a ſenſual appetite. They never ſhowed the leaſt marks of attention or tenderneſs for that ſex, ſo much courted in other countries. They conſidered their wives rather in the light of ſlaves than of companions; they did not even ſuffer them to eat with them, and had uſurped the right of divorcing them, without granting them the indulgence of marrying again. The women felt themſelves born to obey, and ſubmitted patiently to their fate.

In other reſpects, a taſte for power had little influence on the minds of the Caribs; as they had no diſtinction of ranks among them, they were all on a footing of equality, and were extremely ſurpriſed to find degrees of ſubordination eſtabliſhed among the Europeans. This ſyſtem was ſo repugnant to their ideas, that they conſidered thoſe as ſlaves, who had the weakneſs to receive the commands of a ſuperior, and obey them. The ſubjection of the women among them, was a natural conſequence of the weakneſs of the ſex. But in what manner, and for what reaſon, the ſtronger men ſubmitted themſelves to the weaker; and how one man commanded the whole body, was a problem, that neither war, treachery, nor ſuperſtition, had been able to reſolve.

The manners of a people, neither influenced by intereſt, vanity, or ambition, muſt be very ſimple. Every family formed within itſelf a republic, diſtinct in ſome degree from the reſt of the nation. They compoſed a hamlet, called *carbet*, of greater or leſs conſequence, in proportion to the ſpace of ground it occupied. The chief or patriarch of the family lived in the centre, with his wives and younger children. Around him were placed the huts of ſuch of his deſcendants as were married. The columns that ſupported theſe huts were ſtakes; the roofs were thatched; and the whole furniture conſiſted of ſome weapons, cotton beds made very plain and ſimple, ſome baſkets, and utenſils made of calabaſhes.

In theſe huts the Caribs ſpent the greateſt part of their life, either in ſleeping or ſmoking. When they went out, they retired into ſome corner, and ſat upon the ground, ſeemingly abſorbed in the moſt profound contemplation. Whenever they ſpoke, which was not very often, they were heard without interruption or contradiction, and without any anſwer, but the ſign of a tacit approbation.

They were not much troubled in providing for their ſuſtenance. Savages, who ſpent their life in the condenſed air of the foreſt, who had the cuſtom of covering themſelves with a layer of rocou, which cloſed up the pores of the ſkin; who ſpent their days in idleneſs and indolence; ſuch ſavages muſt neceſſarily perſpire very little, and be very moderate in their eating. Without being compelled to the labours of cultivation, they found conſtantly, at the foot of the trees, a wholeſome food, fitted to their conſtitution; and which required no great preparation. If they ſometimes added to theſe gifts of liberal and uncultivated nature, what they had taken in hunting and fiſhing, it was moſtly upon occaſion of ſome public feaſt.

Theſe extraordinary feſtivals were not holden at any ſtated times. The gueſts themſelves ſhowed no alteration in their uſual characters. In theſe meetings they were not more gay or ſprightly than at other times. A ſpirit of indolence and liſtleſſneſs appeared in their countenances. Their dances were ſo grave and ſolemn, that the motions of their bodies were expreſſive of the dulneſs of their minds. But theſe gloomy feſtivals, like thoſe clouded ſkies that are the forerunners of a ſtorm, were ſeldom concluded without bloodſhed. Theſe ſavages, who were ſo temperate when alone, grew drunk when aſſembled in companies, and their intoxication excited and revived thoſe family diſſenſions, that were either only ſtifled, or not entirely extinguiſhed: and thus theſe feſtivals terminated in maſſacres. Hatred and revenge, the only paſſions that could deeply agitate the minds of theſe ſavages, were thus perpetuated by convivial pleaſures. In the height of theſe entertainments, parents and relations embraced one another, and ſwore that they would wage war upon the continent, and, ſometimes, in the great iſlands.

The Carib's uſed to embark upon boats, made of a ſingle tree, that had been felled by burning its roots. Whole years had been employed in hollowing theſe canoes, by hatchets made of ſtone, or by means of fire, ſkilfully applied within the trunk of the tree, in order to bring it to the moſt proper form. Theſe free and voluntary warriors being arrived on the coaſts, to which they were led, ſometimes by a blind caprice, and ſometimes by violent hatred, went in queſt of nations to exterminate. They made their attack with a kind of club, nearly as long as the arm, and with poiſoned arrows. At their return from this military expedition, which was the more ſpeedily brought to a concluſion, as mutual enmity rendered it more cruel and ſpirited, the ſavages fell again into their former ſtate of indolence and inactivity.

The Spaniards, notwithſtanding the advantage of fire-arms, did not continue long at war with this people, nor were they always ſucceſsful. At firſt they fought only for gold, and afterwards for ſlaves; but not meeting with any mines, and the Caribs being ſo proud and ſullen that they died when reduced to ſlavery, the Spaniards gave up all thoughts of making conqueſts which they thought of little conſequence, and which they could neither acquire nor preſerve without conſtant and bloody wars.

The Engliſh and French ſettled in the Windward Iſlands on the ruin of the Caribs.

The Engliſh and French, being appriſed of theſe tranſactions, ventured to equip a ſmall fleet, in order to intercept the Spaniſh veſſels which frequented theſe latitudes. The advantages gained increaſed the number of pirates. Peace, which frequently took place in Europe, did not prevent theſe expeditions. The cuſtom that prevailed among the Spaniards, of ſtopping all ſhips that failed beyond the tropic, juſtified ſuch piracies.

The two nations had long been acquainted with the Windward Iſlands, without ever thinking of making any ſettlement there, or having been able to fix upon the mode of doing it. They were, perhaps, apprehenſive of irritating the Caribs, by whom they had been favourably received; or, perhaps, they conſidered that a ſoil which afforded none of thoſe productions that were of uſe in the Old World was unworthy of their attention. At length, however, ſome Engliſh and French, the former headed by Warner, and the latter by Denambuc, landed at St. Chriſtopher's on the ſame day, at two oppoſite parts of the iſland. The frequent loſſes they ſuſtained, ſerved to convince them both, that they certainly would never triumph over, and enrich themſelves with the ſpoils of the common enemy, unleſs they had ſome fixed reſidence, ports, and a place of general rendezvous. As they had no notion of commerce, agriculture, or conqueſt, they amicably divided the coaſts of the iſland where they accidentally met together. The natives of the country retired from the ſpot they were fixed upon, telling them at the ſame time, that *land muſt either be very bad or very ſcarce with them, ſince they were come from ſo great a diſtance, and had expoſed themſelves to ſo many dangers, to ſeek for it among them.*

The court of Madrid were not ſo peaceably inclined. Frederick of Toledo, who was ſent to Brazil in the year 1630, with a powerful fleet, to attack the Dutch, was ordered, in his paſſage, to deſtroy the pirates, who, according to the prejudices of that nation, had invaded one of their territories. The vicinity of two active and induſtrious nations occaſioned the greateſt anxiety to the Spaniards. They were ſenſible that their colonies would be expoſed to attacks, if any other people ſhould come to ſettle in that part of America.

The French and Engliſh in vain united their weak powers againſt the common enemy; they were beaten; and thoſe who were not either killed in the action, or not taken priſoners, fled for ſhelter, with the utmoſt precipitation, into the neighbouring iſlands. When the danger was over, they moſt of them returned to their former ſettlements. Spain, whoſe attention was engroſſed by objects ſhe conſidered as of greater importance, diſturbed them no more; taking it for granted, perhaps, that their mutual jealouſies would occaſion their deſtruction.

Unfortunately for the Caribs, the two nations, thus conquered, ſuſpended their rivalſhip. The Caribs, already ſuſpected of forming a conſpiracy in St. Chriſtopher's, were either baniſhed or deſtroyed. Their wives, their proviſions, and even the lands they occupied, were ſeized upon. A ſpirit of anxiety, the conſequence of uſurpation, inclined the Europeans to believe that the other ſavage nations had entered into the conſpiracy; and they were therefore attacked in their iſlands. In vain did thoſe plain and inoffenſive men, who had no inclination to contend for the poſſeſſion of a land which they conſidered not as their property, remove the boundaries of their habitations, in proportion as the Europeans advanced with their encroachments; they were ſtill purſued with the ſame eagerneſs and obſtinacy. As ſoon as they perceived that their lives or liberties were in danger, they at length took up arms; and the ſpirit of revenge, which always goes beyond the injury, muſt have ſometimes contributed to render them cruel, though not unjuſt.

In earlier times, the Engliſh and the French conſidered the Caribs as their common enemy; but this kind of caſual aſſociation was frequently interrupted. It implied not a laſting engagement, much leſs the becoming guarantee for their mutual poſſeſſions. The ſavages artfully contrived to be at peace, ſometimes with one nation, and ſometimes with the other; and thus they gained the advantage of having only one enemy at a time. This management would have been but of little ſervice to theſe iſlanders, had not Europe, ſcarce paying any attention to a few adventurers, whoſe excurſions had as yet been of no uſe to her, and not ſufficiently enlightened to penetrate into futurity, neglected both the care of governing them, as well as that of putting them into a condition to extend or recover the advantages they had already acquired. The indifference ſhown by the two mother-countries, determined their ſubjects of the New World, in the month of January 1660, to enter into an alliance, ſecuring to each people thoſe poſſeſſions the various events of war had procured them, and which till then had been totally unſettled. This alliance was accompanied with an offenſive and defenſive league, to compel the natives of the country to join in this plan; to which their fears induced them to accede the very ſame year.

By this treaty, which eſtabliſhed tranquillity in this part of America, France obtained Guadalupe, Martinico, Granada, and ſome leſs conſiderable acquiſitions. England was confirmed in the poſſeſſion of Barbadoes, Nevis, Antigua, Montſerrat, and ſeveral other iſlands of little value: St. Chriſtopher's belonged to both nations. The Caribs were confined to Dominica and St. Vincent's, where all the ſcattered body of this people united, and did not at that time exceed in number 6000 men.

The French take poſſeſſion of part of St. Domingo. Character of theſe adventurers.

At this period, the Engliſh ſettlements had acquired under a government, which, though not free from defects, was yet tolerable, ſome kind of form, and were in a flouriſhing ſtate. On the contrary, the French colonies were abandoned by a great number of their inhabitants, reduced to deſpair, from the neceſſity they were under of ſubmitting to the tyranny of excluſive privileges. Theſe men, paſſionately attached to liberty, fled to the northern coaſt of St. Domingo, a place of refuge for ſeveral adventurers of their own country, ſince they had been driven out of St. Chriſtopher's about thirty years before.

They were called Buccaneers, becauſe they imitated the cuſtom of the ſavages, in drying the food they lived upon by ſmoke, in places called Buccans. As they had no wives nor children, they uſually aſſociated two in a company, to aſſiſt one another in family duties. In theſe ſocieties property was common, and the laſt ſurvivor inherited all that remained. Theft was unknown among them, though no precautions were taken againſt it; and what was wanting at home was freely borrowed from ſome of the neighbours, without any other reſtriction than that of a previous intimation, if they were at home; if not, of making them acquainted with it at their return. Cæſar found in Gaul the ſame cuſtom, which bears the double character, both of a primitive ſtate, in which every thing was in common, and of times poſterior to that in which the idea of private property was known and reſpected. Differences ſeldom aroſe, and, when they did, were eaſily adjuſted. If the parties, however, were obſtinate, they decided the matter by fire-arms. If the ball entered at the back or the ſides, it was conſidered as a mark of treachery, and the aſſaſſin was immediately put to death. The former laws of their country were diſregarded, and by the uſual ſea baptiſm they had received in paſſing the tropic, they conſidered themſelves exempted from all obligation to obey them. Theſe adventurers had even quitted their family name to aſſume others, borrowed from terms of war, moſt of which have been tranſmitted to their poſterity.

The dreſs of theſe barbarians conſiſted of a ſhirt dipped in the blood of the animals they killed in hunting; a pair of drawers dirtier than the ſhirt, and made in the ſhape of a brewer's apron; a girdle made of leather, on which a very ſhort ſabre was hung, and ſome knives; a hat without any rim, except a flap before, in order to take hold of it; and ſhoes without ſtockings. Their ambition was ſatisfied, if they could but provide themſelves with a gun that carried balls of an ounce weight, and with a pack of about five-and-twenty or thirty dogs.

The buccaneers ſpent their life in hunting the wild bulls, of which there were great numbers in the iſland, ſince the Spaniards had brought them. The beſt parts of theſe animals, when ſeaſoned with pimento and orange juice, were the moſt common food of their deſtroyers, who had forgotten the uſe of bread, and who had nothing but water to drink. The hides of theſe animals were conveyed to ſeveral ports, and bought by the navigators. They were carried thither by men who were called *engagés*, or bondſmen, a ſet of perſons who were uſed to ſell themſelves in Europe to ſerve as ſlaves in the colonies during the term of three years. One of theſe miſerable men preſuming to repreſent to his maſter, who always fixed upon a Sunday for this voyage, that God had forbidden ſuch a practice, when he had declared, *Six days ſhalt thou labour, and on the ſeventh day ſhalt thou reſt*; And I, replied the brutal Buccaneer, ſay to thee, *Six days thou ſhalt kill* *bulls, and ſtrip them of their ſkins, and on the ſeventh day thou ſhalt carry their hides to the ſea-ſhore.* This command was followed by blows, which ſometimes enforce obedience, ſometimes diſobedience to the laws of God.

Men of ſuch a caſt, habituated to conſtant exerciſes, and feeding every day on freſh meat, were little expoſed to diſeaſes. Their excurſions were only ſuſpended by a ſlight fever, which laſted one day, and was not felt the next. They muſt, however, have been weakened by length of time, under a climate of too intenſe a heat, to enable them to ſupport ſo hard and laborious a manner of life.

The climate, indeed, was the only enemy the Buccaneers had reaſon to fear. The Spaniſh colony, at firſt ſo conſiderable, was reduced to nothing. Neglected and forgotten by the mother-country, it had even loſt the remembrance of its former greatneſs. The few inhabitants that ſurvived lived in a ſtate of indolence: their ſlaves had no other employment but to ſwing them in their hammocks. Confined to thoſe wants only that are ſatisfied by nature, frugality prolonged their lives to an old age, rarely to be met with in more temperate climates.

It is probable they would not have been rouſed from their indolence, had not the enterpriſing and active ſpirit of their enemies purſued them in proportion as they retreated. Exaſperated at length, from having their tranquillity and eaſe continually diſturbed, they invited from the continent, and from the neighbouring iſlands, ſome troops, who fell upon the diſperſed Buccaneers. They unexpectedly attacked theſe barbarians in ſmall parties in their excurſions, or in the night-time, when retired into their huts, and many of them were maſſacred. Theſe adventurers would moſt probably have been all deſtroyed, had they not formed themſelves into a body for their mutual defence. They were under an abſolute neceſſity of ſeparating in the day-time, but met together in the evening. If any one of them was miſſing, it was ſuppoſed that he was either taken priſoner or killed, and the chaſe was delayed, till he was either found, or his death revenged. We may eaſily conceive how much blood muſt have been ſhed by ſuch ruffians, belonging to no country, and ſubject to no laws; hunters and warriors from the calls of nature and inſtinct; and excited to murder and maſſacres from being habituated to attack, and from the neceſſity of defending themſelves. In the height of their fury, they devoted every thing to deſtruction, without any diſtinction of ſex or age. The Spaniards, at length deſpairing of being able to get the better of ſuch ſavage and obſtinate enemies, took the reſolution of deſtroying all the bulls of the iſlands, by a general chaſe. The execution of this deſign having deprived the Buccaneers of their uſual reſources, put them under the neceſſity of making ſettlements, and cultivating the lands.

France, which till that time had diſclaimed for her ſubjects theſe ruffians, whoſe ſucceſſes were only temporary, acknowledged them, however, as ſoon as they formed themſelves into ſettlements. In 1665, ſhe ſent them over a man of probity and underſtanding to govern them. Several women attended him, who, like moſt of thoſe who have at different periods been ſent into the New World, were noted for their vices and licentiouſneſs. The Buccaneers were not offended at the profligacy of their manners; each of them ſaid to the woman who fell to his lot:

"I take thee, without knowing, or caring to know, "whom thou art. If any body from whence thou "comeſt would have had thee, thou wouldſt not have "come in queſt of me; but no matter. I do not de"ſire thee to give me an account of thy paſt conduct, "becauſe I have no right to be offended at it, at the "time when thou waſt at liberty to behave either "well or ill, according to thy own pleaſure; and be"cauſe I ſhall have no reaſon to be aſhamed of any "thing thou waſt guilty of when thou didſt not be"long to me. Give me only thy word for the fu"ture. I acquit thee of what is paſt." Then ſtriking his hand on the barrel of his gun, he added, "This "will revenge me of thy breach of faith; if thou "ſhouldſt prove falſe, this will certainly be true to my "aim."

The Engliſh conquer Jamaica.

The Engliſh had not waited till their rivals had obtained a firm ſettlement in the Great Antilles to procure themſelves an eſtabliſhment there. The declining ſtate of the kingdom of Spain, weakened by its internal diviſions, by the revolt of Catalonia and Portugal, by the commotions of Naples, by the deſtruction of its formidable infantry in the plains of Rocroy, by its continual loſſes in the Netherlands, by the incapacity of its miniſters, and even by the extinction of that national pride, which, after having been kept up and maintained by fixing itſelf on great objects, had degenerated into an indolent haughtineſs: all theſe circumſtances, tending to the ruin of the Spaniſh monarchy, left no room to doubt that war might be ſucceſsfully waged againſt her. France ſkilfully took the advantage of theſe confuſions ſhe had partly occaſioned; and Cromwell, in the year 1655, joined her, in order to ſhare in the ſpoils of a kingdom haſtening to deſtruction in every part.

This conduct of the Protector cauſed a revolt among the beſt Engliſh officers, who, conſidering it as an inſtance of great injuſtice, determined to quit the ſervice. They thought that the will of their ſuperiors could not give ſanction to an enterpriſe which violated all the principles of equity; and that by concurring in the execution of it, they would be guilty of the greateſt crime. The reſt of the Europeans looked upon theſe principles of virtue and honour as the effect of that republican and fanatical ſpirit which then prevailed in England; but they attacked the Protector with other motives.

Spain had long threatened to enſlave all other nations. Perhaps the multitude, who are little able to eſtimate the ſtrength of nations, and to weigh the variations in the balance of power, were not yet recovered from their ancient prejudices. An univerſal panic had ſeized the minds of thoſe able men who attentively ſtudied the general progreſs of affairs. They were ſenſible, that, if the rapid and extraordinary ſucceſſes of France were not checked by ſome foreign power, ſhe would deprive the Spaniards of their poſſeſſions, impoſe on them what laws ſhe thought proper, compel them to the marriage of the Infanta with Lewis the XIV., ſecure to herſelf the inheritance of Charles the V., and oppreſs the liberty of Europe that ſhe had formerly protected. Cromwell, who had lately ſubverted the government of his country, ſeemed a fit perſon to give a check to the power of kings: but he was looked upon as the weakeſt of politicians, when he was obſerved to form connections, which his own private intereſts, thoſe of his country, as well as thoſe of Europe in general, ought abſolutely to have prevented him from entering into.

Theſe obſervations could not poſſibly eſcape the deep and penetrating genius of the uſurper. But, perhaps, he was deſirous of preſerving the idea the nation already entertained of his abilities, by ſome important conqueſt. If he had declared himſelf on the ſide of Spain, the execution of this project muſt have been chimerical; as the utmoſt he could poſſibly expect was to reſtore the balance of power between the two contending parties. He imagined it more favourable to his deſigns, to begin to form a connection with France, and afterwards to attack her, when he had made himſelf maſter of thoſe poſſeſſions that were the object of his ambition. Whatever truth there may be in theſe conjectures, which, however, may be ſupported from the evidence of hiſtory, and are, at leaſt, conſiſtent with the character of the extraordinary politician who is ſuppoſed to have adopted this mode of reaſoning, the Engliſh went into the New World to attack an enemy they had juſt brought upon themſelves.

Their firſt attempts were directed againſt the town of St. Domingo, the inhabitants of which retired into the woods as ſoon as they ſaw a large fleet command-

[illegible] and nine thouſand land forces headed by [illegible] pear before the city. But the errors com- [illegible] neir enemies inſpiring theſe fugitives with [illegible] rage, they returned, and compelled the ene- [illegible] imbark with diſgrace. This misfortune was [illegible] ence of the ill-concerted plan of this expe- [illegible]

[illegible] commanders of this enterpriſe were men [illegible] derate abilities. They entertained a mutual [illegible] ainſt each other, and were not attached to [illegible] tor. Inſpectors had been appointed to watch [illegible], who, under the name of commiſſaries, [illegible] neir operations. The ſoldiers who were ſent from Europe were the refuſe of the army; and the militia, taken from Barbadoes and St. Chriſtopher's, were under no kind of diſcipline. The hope of plunder, that ſtimulus ſo neceſſary for the ſucceſs of diſtant and difficult enterpriſes, was prohibited. Matters were arranged in ſuch a manner, as to render it impoſſible for any kind of harmony to ſubſiſt between the ſeveral perſons who were to concur in their ſucceſs. Proper arms, proviſions fit for the climate, and the information neceſſary to conduct the enterpriſe, were all wanting.

The execution of the attack was anſwerable to the plan. The landing of the troops, which might have been effected without danger, even in the port itſelf, was accompliſhed without a guide, at forty miles diſtance. The troops wandered about for four days without water or proviſions. Exhauſted by the exceſſive heat of the climate, and diſcouraged by the cowardice and miſunderſtanding of their officers, they did not even contend with the Spaniards for victory. They ſcarce thought themſelves in ſafety when they had got back to their ſhips.

But ill ſucceſs contributed to reconcile the irritated parties. The Engliſh, who had not yet contracted the habit of bearing diſgrace, reclaimed by the very faults they had committed, and reſtored to the love of their country, to a ſenſe of their duty, and to a thirſt of glory, ſailed for Jamaica, with a determin[illegible] either to periſh, or to make the conqueſt [illegible]

The inhabitants of this iſland, ſubject t[illegible] the year 1509, were ignorant of what had [illegible] at St. Domingo, and did not imagine they [illegible] enemy ſailing in the neighbouring ſeas. Th[illegible] therefore, landed without oppoſition. They [illegible] ly marching to lay ſiege to St. Jago, the c[illegible] place in the colony, when the governor ga[illegible] to their ardour, by offering them terms of ca[illegible] The diſcuſſion of the articles, artfully prolon[illegible] the coloniſts time to remove their moſt valu[illegible] into ſecret places. They themſelves fled for[illegible] to inacceſſible mountains, leaving only to the co[illegible]querors a city without inhabitants, moveables, treaſures, or proviſions.

This artifice exaſperated the beſiegers. They ſent out detachments on every ſide, with expreſs orders to deſtroy every thing they met with. The diſappointment they felt on finding theſe parties return without having diſcovered any thing; the want of every convenience, more ſenſibly felt by this nation than any other; the mortality which increaſed among them every day; the dread they were under of being attacked by all the forces of the New World: all theſe circumſtances conſpired to make them clamorous for a ſpeedy return into England. The cowardly deſertion of ſo rich a prize as Jamaica, which they had almoſt reſolved upon, would ſoon have expoſed them to the mortifying reproaches of their country, had they not diſcovered at laſt ſome paſture land, where the fugitives had conveyed their numerous flocks. This unexpected good fortune occaſioned a change in the ſentiments of the Engliſh, and made them reſolve to complete their conqueſt.

The ſpirit of activity, which this laſt reſolution had excited, convinced the beſieged, that they could not remain with ſafety in the foreſts and precipices where they had concealed themſelves. They unanimouſly,

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ed to ſet ſail for Cuba. Here they were ſuch marks of diſgrace as the weakneſs ence deſerved, and they were ſent back t with ſuch ſuccours as were unequal to the y had to contend with. From that principle which in moſt men ariſes rather from a fear an a love of glory, they made a more obance than could have been expected from ſources they had. They did not evacuate lerable iſland, till they were reduced to the xtremities; and from that period it hath ree of the moſt valuable poſſeſſions of Great Brit[illegible] the New World.

The free-booters ravage the American ſeas. Origin, manners, expeditions, and decline of theſe pirates.

Before the Engliſh had made any ſettlement at Jamaica, and the French at St. Domingo, ſome pirates of both nations, who have ſince been ſo much diſtinguiſhed by the name of Freebooters, had driven the Spaniards out of the ſmall iſland of Tortuga, ſituated at the diſtance of two leagues from St. Domingo; and fortifying themſelves there, had made excurſions with amazing intrepidity againſt the common enemy. They formed themſelves into ſmall companies, conſiſting of fifty, a hundred, or a hundred and fifty men each. A boat, of a greater or ſmaller ſize, was all their naval force. Theſe boats were ſcarce big enough for a perſon to lie down in; and they had nothing to ſhelter them from the ardent heats of a burning climate, nor from the rains which fall in torrents in thoſe regions. They were often in want of the moſt neceſſary ſupports of life. But all theſe calamities were forgotten at the ſight of a ſhip. They never deliberated on the attack, but proceeded immediately to board the ſhip, of whatever ſize it might be. As ſoon as they threw out the grappling, the veſſel was certainly taken.

In caſes of extreme neceſſity, theſe banditti attacked the people of every nation, but fell upon the Spaniards at all times. They thought that the cruelties they had exerciſed on the Americans, juſtified the implacable averſion they had ſworn againſt them. But this extraordinary kind of humanity was heightened by perſonal reſentment, from the mor[illegible] felt, in ſeeing themſelves debarred from[illegible] of hunting and fiſhing, which they juſt[illegible] as natural rights. Such was their infatuat[illegible] whenever they embarked on any expedition, [illegible] to pray to Heaven for the ſucceſs of it; a[illegible] ver came back from the plunder, but the[illegible] returned thanks to God for their victory.

The ſhips that arrived from Europe ſeldo[illegible] their avidity. Theſe barbarians would have [illegible] thing but merchandiſe in them, the ſale [illegible] would not have been very profitable, and w[illegible] required too conſtant an attention. They al[illegible]aited for them on their return, when they were laden with the gold, ſilver, and jewels of the other hemiſphere. If they met with a ſingle ſhip, they never failed to attack her. They followed the fleets themſelves; and any ſhip that ſtraggled, or remained behind, was inevitably loſt. The Spaniards, who trembled at the ſight of theſe implacable enemies, immediately ſurrendered. Life was granted to them, if the cargo proved a rich one; but if the conquerors were diſappointed in their expectations, all the crew were frequently thrown into the ſea.

Peter Legrand, a native of Dieppe, had no more than four pieces of cannon and twenty-eight men in his boat: yet, with this trifling force, he ventured to attack the vice-admiral of the galleons. He boarded him, having firſt given orders to ſink his own veſſel; and the Spaniards were ſo much ſurpriſed at this boldneſs, that not one of them attempted to oppoſe him. When he came to the captain's cabin, who was engaged at play, he preſented a piſtol to him, and compelled him to ſurrender. This commander, with the greater part of the crew, they landed at the neareſt cape, as a uſeleſs burden to the ſhip they had ſo ill defended, and reſerved only a ſufficient number of ſailors to work her.

Fifty-five freebooters, who had ſailed into the ſouthern ſea, proceeded as far as California. To return in-

[illegible] the northern ſea, they were obliged to ſail two [illegible]ſand leagues againſt the wind in a canoe. When [illegible] were at the Straits of Magellan, they were ſeized [illegible] at having made no plunder in ſo rich an [illegible]nd ſteered again towards Peru. They were [illegible] that there was in the port of Yauca a ſhip, [illegible] of which was valued at ſeveral millions: [illegible]iately attacked, took her, and embarked

[illegible]l de Baſco, Jonqué, and Lawrence le Graff, [illegible]ſing before Carthagena with three ſmall and [illegible]s, when two men of war ſailed out of the ha[illegible] attack theſe freebooters, and to bring them alive [illegible] dead. The Spaniards were ſo much deceived in their expectations, that they were themſelves taken priſoners. The victors kept the ſhips; but they ſent back the crews with a degree of ſcorn, which greatly enhanced the ſhame of a defeat in itſelf ſo humiliating.

Michael and Brouage having received intelligence that a very valuable cargo had been ſhipped from Carthagena in veſſels carrying a foreign flag, in order to ſecure it from their rapine, attacked the two ſhips that were loaded with this treaſure, and plundered them. The Dutch captains, exaſperated at their being beaten by ſhips ſo inferior to theirs, ventured to tell one of theſe adventurers openly, that, if he had been alone, he would not dare to attack them. *Let us begin the fight again*, replied the Buccaneer with haughtineſs, *and my companion ſhall remain a quiet ſpectator of the engagement. If I ſhould be conqueror again, both your ſhips ſhall alſo be mine.* The prudent republicans, far from accepting the challenge, quickly made off, apprehending, if they ſhould ſtop, that they might not have the liberty of declining it.

Lawrence, who was on board a very ſmall veſſel, was overtaken by two Spaniſh ſhips, carrying each ſixty guns. *You have*, ſaid he, addreſſing himſelf to his companions, *too much experience not to be ſenſible of your danger, and too much courage to fear it. On this occa-*

ſion we muſt avail ourſelves of every circumſtance, haza[illegible] every thing, attack and defend ourſelves at the ſame [illegible] Valour, artifice, raſhneſs, and even deſpair itſelf, mu[illegible] be employed. Let us dread the ignominy of fa[illegible] us dread the cruelty of our enemies ; and let us [illegible] we may eſcape them.

After this ſpeech, which was received [illegible] applauſe, the captain called to the braveſt [illegible] booters, and publicly ordered him to ſet [illegible] gunpowder, on the firſt ſignal he ſhould [illegible] ſhowing, by this reſolution, that they muſt [illegible]pect death, or defend themſelves. Then ext[illegible] hand toward the enemy, *We muſt,* ſays he, *p[illegible]en their ſhips, and fire upon them from every ſide,* [illegible]*ording to your uſual cuſtom.* This plan of operation [illegible]s executed with equal courage and diſpatch. The ſhips indeed were not taken ; but the crews were ſo reduced in number, that they either were not able, or had not courage enough, to continue the combat againſt a handful of reſolute men, who, even in their retreat, carried away the honour of the victory. The Spaniſh commander atoned, by his death, for the diſgrace his ignorance and cowardice had ſtamped upon his country. In every engagement the freebooters ſhowed the ſame ſpirit of intrepidity.

When they had got a conſiderable booty, at firſt they held their rendezvous at the iſland of Tortuga, in order to divide the ſpoil ; but afterwards the French went to St. Domingo, and the Engliſh to Jamaica. They all took an oath, that they had ſecreted none of the ſpoil. If any one among them was convicted of perjury, which ſeldom happened, he was left, as ſoon as an opportunity offered, upon ſome deſert iſland, as an infamous perſon. The firſt ſhares of the booty were always given to thoſe who had been maimed in any of their engagements. If they had loſt a hand, an arm, or a leg, they received two hundred crowns [25l.]. An eye, or a finger, loſt in fight, was valued only at half the above ſum. The wounded were allowed three livres [2s. 6d.] a-day for two months, to enable them to have their wounds taken care of. If they had not money enough to fulfil theſe ſacred obligations, the [illegible] company were bound to engage in ſome freſh [illegible], and to continue it, even till they had ac[illegible] ſufficient ſtock to enable them to ſatisfy ſuch [illegible] contracts.

[illegible] act of juſtice and humanity, the remainder [illegible] was divided. The commander, in ſtrict[illegible] only lay claim to a ſingle ſhare as the reſt; [illegible] complimented him with two or three, in pro[illegible] they were ſatisfied with his ſkill, valour, and [illegible] When the veſſel was not the property of the [illegible] the perſon who had fitted it out, and furniſhed it with neceſſary arms and proviſions, was entitled to a third of the prizes. Favour never had any influence in the diviſion of the booty; for every ſhare was rigidly determined by lot. This probity was extended even to the dead. Their ſhare was given to their ſurviving companion. If the perſon who had been killed had none, his part was ſent to his family. If there were no friends or relations, it was diſtributed in charity to the poor and to churches, which were to pray for the perſon in whoſe name theſe benefactions were given, the fruits of inhuman but neceſſary piratical plunder.

They afterwards indulged themſelves in profuſions of all kinds. Unbounded licentiouſneſs in gaming, wine, women, every kind of debauchery was carried to the utmoſt pitch of exceſs, and was ſtopt only by the want which ſuch profuſions brought on. Thoſe men who were enriched with ſeveral millions, were in an inſtant totally ruined, and deſtitute of clothes and proviſions. They returned to ſea, and the new ſupplies they acquired were ſoon laviſhed in the ſame manner. If theſe madmen were aſked, what ſatisfaction they could find in diſſipating ſo rapidly, what they had gained with ſo much difficulty? they made this very ingenuous reply: "Expoſed as we are to ſuch a variety of dangers, our life is totally different from that of other men. Why ſhould we, who are alive to-day, and may be dead to-morrow, think of hoarding

" up? We reckon only the day we live, but never " think upon that which is to come. Our conce[illegible] " rather to ſquander life away, than to preſerve [illegible]

The Spaniſh colonies, flattering themſelves [illegible] hopes of ſeeing an end to their miſeries, and [illegible] almoſt to deſpair in finding themſelves a per[illegible] to theſe ruffians, grew weary of navigat[illegible] gave up all the power, conveniences, and [illegible] connections procured them, and formed the[illegible] moſt into ſo many diſtinct and ſeparate ſtate[illegible] were ſenſible of the inconveniences ariſing [illegible] a conduct, and avowed them; but the dread [illegible] into the hands of rapacious and ſavage men ha[illegible]ter influence over them than the dictates of hono[illegible] intereſt, and policy. This was the riſe of that ſpirit of inactivity which continues to this time.

This deſpondency ſerved only to increaſe the boldneſs of the freebooters. As yet they had only appeared in the Spaniſh ſettlements, in order to carry off ſome proviſions; and even this they had done very ſeldom. They no ſooner found their captures begin to diminiſh, than they determined to recover by land what they had loſt at ſea. The richeſt and moſt populous countries of the continent were plundered and laid waſte. The culture of lands was equally neglected with navigation; and the Spaniards dared no more appear in their public roads, than ſail in the latitudes which belonged to them.

Among the freebooters who ſignalized themſelves in this new ſpecies of excurſions, Montbar, a gentleman of Languedoc, particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf. Having, by chance, in his infancy, met with a circumſtantial account of the cruelties practiſed in the New World, he conceived an averſion, which he carried to a degree of frenzy, againſt that nation that had committed ſuch enormities. Upon this point a ſtory is told of him, that when he was at college, and acting in a play the part of a Frenchman, who quarrelled with a Spaniard, he fell upon the perſon who perſonated the Spaniard with ſuch fury, that he would

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have ſtrangled him, had he not been reſcued out of his hands. His heated imagination continually repreſented to him innumerable multitudes of people maſſacred by ſavage monſters who came out of Spain. He was animated with an irreſiſtible ardour to avenge ſo much innocent blood. The enthuſiaſm this ſpirit of humanity worked him up to, was turned into a rage more cruel than the thirſt of gold, or the fanaticiſm of religion, to which ſo many victims had been ſacrificed. The manes of theſe unhappy ſufferers ſeemed to rouſe him, and call upon him for vengeance. He had heard ſome account of the *brethren of the coaſt*, as of the moſt inveterate enemies to the Spaniſh name: he therefore embarked on board a ſhip in order to join them.

In the paſſage they met with a Spaniſh veſſel, attacked it, and, as it was uſual in thoſe times, immediately boarded it. Montbar, with a ſabre in his hand, fell upon the enemy, broke through them, and, hurrying twice from one end of the ſhip to the other, levelled every thing that oppoſed him. When he had compelled the enemy to ſurrender, leaving to his companions the happineſs of dividing ſo rich a booty, he contented himſelf with the ſavage pleaſure of contemplating the dead bodies of the Spaniards lying in heaps together, againſt whom he had ſworn a conſtant and deadly hatred.

Freſh opportunites ſoon occurred, that enabled him to exert this ſpirit of revenge, without extinguiſhing it. The ſhip he was upon arrived at the coaſt of St. Domingo. The French who were ſettled in the iſland [illegible]ht him only a ſmall quantity of refreſhment, and [illegible] in excuſe, that the Spaniards had laid waſte [illegible]lements. "Why," replied Montbar, "do [illegible]fer ſuch inſults?" "Neither do we," anſwer[illegible] the ſame tone; "the Spaniards have expe[illegible]d what kind of men we are, and have there[illegible]aken advantage of the time when we were en[illegible]d in hunting. But we are going to join ſome [illegible] our companions, who have been ſtill more ill-

"treated than we, and then we ſhall have warm work." "If you approve it," anſwered Montbar, "I will head you, not as your commander, but as the foremoſt to expoſe myſelf to danger." The Buccaneers perceiving, from his appearance, that he was ſuch a man as they wanted, cheerfully accepted his offer. The ſame day they overtook the enemy, and Montbar attacked them with an impetuoſity that aſtoniſhed the braveſt. Nothing eſcaped the effects of his fury. The remaining part of his life was equally diſtinguiſhed as this day. The Spaniards ſuffered ſo much from him, both by land and ſea, that he acquired the name of the *Exterminator*.

His ſavage diſpoſition, as well as that of the other Buccaneers who attended him, having obliged the Spaniards to confine themſelves within their ſettlements, theſe freebooters reſolved to attack them there. This new method of carrying on the war required ſuperior forces; and their aſſociations, in conſequence, became more numerous. The firſt that was conſiderable was formed by Lolonois, who derived his name from the ſands of Olone, the place of his birth. From the abject ſtate of a bondſman, he had gradually raiſed himſelf to the command of two canoes, with twenty-two men. With theſe he was ſo ſucceſsful, as to take a Spaniſh frigate on the coaſt of Cuba. A ſlave having obſerved that all the men who were wounded were put to death, and fearing leſt he ſhould ſhare the ſame fate, wanted to ſave himſelf by a perfidious declaration, but very conſiſtent with the part he had been deſtined to take. He aſſured them, that the governor of the Havannah had put him on boa[illegible] order to ſerve as executioner to all the Bucca[illegible] had ſentenced to be hanged, not doubting in[illegible] but they would be all taken priſoners. Th[illegible] Lolonois, fired with rage at this declaration[illegible] all the Spaniards to be brought before him, [illegible] off their heads one after another, ſucking, [illegible] ſtroke, the drops of blood that trickled down h[illegible] He then repaired to the Port-au-Prince, in whic[illegible] four ſhips, fitted out purpoſely to ſail in purſuit of him. He took them, and threw all the crews into the ſea, except one man, whom he ſaved, in order to ſend him with a letter to the governor of the Havannah, acquainting him with what he had done, and aſſuring him, that he would treat in the ſame manner all the Spaniards that ſhould fall into his hands, not excepting the governor himſelf, if he ſhould be ſo fortunate as to take him. After this expedition, he ran his canoes and prize-ſhips aground, and ſailed with his frigate only to the iſland of Tortuga.

Here he met with Michael de Baſco, who had ſo much diſtinguiſhed himſelf in having taken, even under the cannon of Porto-Bello, a Spaniſh ſhip, eſtimated at five or ſix millions of livres [from 208,333l. 6s. 8d. to 250,000l.], and by other actions equally brave and daring. Theſe two adventurers gave out, that they were going together upon ſome important project, and they were joined by four hundred and forty men. This corps, the moſt numerous the Buccaneers had yet been able to muſter, ſailed to the Bay of Venezuela, which runs up into the country for the ſpace of fifty leagues. The fort that was built at the entrance of it for its defence was taken; the cannon ſpiked, and the whole garriſon, conſiſting of two hundred and fifty men, put to the ſword. They then reimbarked, and came to Maracaybo, built on the weſtern coaſt of the lake of the ſame name, at the diſtance of ten leagues from its mouth. This city, which had become flouriſhing and rich by its trade in ſkins, tobacco, and cocoa, was deſerted. The inhabitants had retired with their effects to the other ſide of the bay. [illegible] Buccaneers had not loſt a fortnight in riot and [illegible], they would have found at Gibraltar, near the [illegible] of the lake, every thing that the inhabitants [illegible]eted, to ſecure it from being plundered. On [illegible]rary, they met with fortifications lately erect[illegible]ch they had the uſeleſs ſatisfaction of making [illegible]lves maſters of, at the expence of a great deal [illegible]od; for the inhabitants had already removed at a diſtance the moſt valuable part of their property. Exaſperated at this diſappointment, they ſet fire to Gibraltar. Maracaybo would have ſhared the ſame fate, had it not been ranſomed. Beſide the ſum they received for its ranſom, they alſo carried off with them all the croſſes, pictures, and bells of the churches, intending, as they ſaid, to build a chapel in the iſland of Tortuga, and to conſecrate this part of their ſpoils to ſacred purpoſes. Such was the religion of theſe barbarous people, who could make no other offering to Heaven, than that which aroſe from their robberies and plunder.

While they were idly diſſipating the ſpoils they had made on the coaſt of Venezuela, Morgan, the moſt renowned of the Engliſh freebooters, ſailed from Jamaica to attack Porto-Bello. His plan of operations was ſo well contrived, that he ſurpriſed the city, and took it without oppoſition. In order to ſecure the fort with the ſame facility, he compelled the women and the prieſts to fix the ſcaling-ladders to the walls, from a full conviction that the gallantry and ſuperſtition of the Spaniards would never ſuffer them to fire at the perſons they conſidered as the objects of their love and reverence. But the garriſon was not to be deceived by this artifice, and was only to be ſubdued by force of arms; the treaſures that were carried away from this famous port were acquired at the expence of much bloodſhed.

The conqueſt of Panama was an object of much greater importance. To ſecure this, Morgan thought it neceſſary to ſail in the latitudes of Coſta-Ricca, to procure ſome guides in the iſland of St. Catherin [illegible] which the Spaniards tranſported their mal [illegible] This place was ſo ſtrongly fortified, that it [illegible] have ſtopped the progreſs of the moſt intre [illegible] mander for ten years. Notwithſtanding this [illegible] vernor, on the firſt appearance of the pirates, [illegible] vately to concert meaſures how he might [illegible] himſelf without incurring the imputation of cow [illegible] The reſult of this conſultation was, that Morg [illegible] the night-time, ſhould attack a fort at ſome diſtance, and that the governor ſhould ſally out of the citadel to defend this important poſt; that the beſiegers ſhould then attack him in the rear, and take him priſoner, which would conſequently occaſion a ſurrender of the place. It was agreed that a briſk firing ſhould be kept up on both ſides, without doing miſchief to either. This farce was admirably carried on. The Spaniards, without being expoſed to any danger, appeared to have done their duty; and the freebooters, after having totally demoliſhed the fortifications, and put on board their veſſels a prodigious quantity of warlike ſtores, which they found at St. Catherine's, ſteered their courſe towards the river Chagre, the only channel that was open to them, to arrive at the place which was the object of their utmoſt wiſhes.

At the entrance of this conſiderable river, a fort was built upon a ſteep rock, which the waves of the ſea conſtantly beat againſt. This bulwark, very difficult of acceſs, was defended by an officer, whoſe extraordinary abilities were equal to his courage, and by a garriſon that deſerved ſuch a commander. The freebooters, for the firſt time, here met with a reſiſtance that could only be equalled by their perſeverance: it was a doubtful point, whether they would ſucceed, or be obliged to raiſe the ſiege, when a lucky accident happened, that proved favourable to their glory and their fortune. The commander was killed, and the fort accidentally took fire: the beſiegers then, taking advantage of this double calamity, made themſelves maſters of the place.

[illegible]rgan left his veſſels at anchor, with a ſufficient [illegible] of men to guard them, and ſailed up the river [illegible]ats for thirty-three miles, till he came to Cru[illegible]re it ceaſes to be navigable. He then pro[illegible]y land to Panama, which was only five leagues [illegible] Upon a large and extenſive plain that was [illegible] the city, he met with a conſiderable body of [illegible] whom he put to flight with the greateſt eaſe, [illegible]ntered into the city, that was now abandoned.

Here were found prodigious treaſures concealed in the wells and caves. Some valuable commodities were taken upon the boats that were left aground at low water. In the neighbouring foreſts were alſo found ſeveral rich depoſits. But the party of freebooters who were making excurſions into the country, little ſatisfied with this booty, exerciſed the moſt ſhocking tortures on the Spaniards, Negroes, and Indians they diſcovered, to oblige them to confeſs where they had ſecreted their own as well as their maſters riches. A beggar, accidentally going into a caſtle that had been deſerted through fear, found ſome apparel that he put on. He had ſcarcely dreſſed himſelf in this manner, when he was perceived by theſe pirates, who demanded of him where his gold was. The unfortunate man ſhowed them the ragged clothes he had juſt thrown off. He was inſtantly tortured; but, as he made no diſcovery, he was given up to ſome ſlaves, who put an end to his life. Thus the treaſure the Spaniards had acquired in the New World by maſſacres and tortures, were reſtored again in the ſame manner.

In the midſt of ſuch ſcenes of horror, the ſavage Morgan fell in love. His character was not likely to inſpire the object of his attachment with favourable ſentiments towards him. He was reſolved therefore to ſubdue by force the beautiful Spaniard that inflamed and tormented him. *Stop*, cried ſhe to this ſavage, as ſhe ſprung with eagerneſs from his arms, *Stop: thinkeſt thou then that thou canſt raviſh my honour from me, as thou haſt wreſted from me my fortune and my liberty? Be aſſured that I can die, and be revenged.* Having ſaid this, ſhe drew out a poignard from under her g[illegible] which ſhe would have plunged into his heart, h[illegible] not avoided the blow.

But Morgan, ſtill inflamed with a paſſion wh[illegible] determined reſiſtance had turned into rage, in[illegible] the tenderneſs and attention he had made uſe [illegible] prevail upon his captive, now proceeded to [illegible] her with the greateſt inhumanity. The fair Spa[illegible] immoveably reſolute, ſtimulated, at the ſame time[illegible] ſhe reſiſted, the frantic deſires of Morgan; till at laſt the pirates, expreſſing their reſentment at being kept ſo long in a ſtate of inactivity, by a caprice which appeared extravagant to them, he was under the neceſſity of of liſtening to their complaints, and giving up his purſuit. Panama was burnt. They then ſet ſail with a great number of priſoners, who were ranſomed a few days after, and came to the mouth of the Chagre with a prodigious booty.

Before the break of the day that had been fixed upon for the diviſion of the ſpoil, Morgan, while the reſt of the pirates were in a deep ſleep, with the principal freebooters of his own country, ſailed for Jamaica, in a veſſel which he had laden with the rich ſpoils of a city, that ſerved as the ſtaple of commerce between the Old and the New World. This inſtance of treachery, unheard-of before, excited a rage and reſentment not to be deſcribed. The Engliſh purſued the robber, in hopes of wreſting from him the booty of which their right and their avidity had been fruſtrated. The French, though ſharers in the ſame loſs, retired to the iſland of Tortuga, from whence they made ſeveral expeditions: but they were all trifling, till, in the year 1683, they attempted one of the greateſt importance.

The plan of this expedition was formed by Van Horn, a native of Oſtend, though he had ſerved all his life among the French. His intrepidity would never let him ſuffer the leaſt ſigns of cowardice among thoſe who were aſſociated with him. In the heat of an engagement he went about his ſhip, ſucceſſively obſerved his men, and immediately killed thoſe who ſhrank at the ſudden report of a piſtol, gun, or cannon. This extraordinary diſcipline had made him become the terror of the coward, and the idol of the brave. In other reſpects, he readily ſhared with the men of ſpirit and bravery the immenſe riches that were acquired by ſo truly warlike a diſpoſition. When he went upon theſe expeditions, he generally ſailed in his frigate, which was his own property. But theſe new deſigns requiring greater numbers to carry them into execution, he took to his aſſiſtance Grammont, Godfrey, and Jonqué, three Frenchmen, diſtinguiſhed by their exploits, and Lawrence de Graff, a Dutchman, who had ſignalized himſelf ſtill more than they. Twelve hundred freebooters joined themſelves to theſe famous commanders, and ſailed in ſix veſſels for Vera Cruz.

The darkneſs of the night favoured their landing, which was effected at three leagues from the place, where they arrived without being diſcovered. The governor, the fort, the barracks, and the poſts of the greateſt conſequence; every thing, in a word, that could occaſion any reſiſtance, was taken by break of day. All the citizens, men, women, and children, were ſhut up in the churches, where they had fled for ſhelter. At the door of each church were placed barrels of gunpowder to blow up the building. A freebooter, with a lighted match, was to ſet fire to it upon the leaſt appearance of an inſurrection.

While the city was kept in ſuch terror, it was eaſily pillaged; and, after the freebooters had carried off what was moſt valuable, they made a propoſal to the citizens who were kept priſoners in the churches, to ranſom their lives and liberties, by a contribution of ten millions of livres [416,666l. 13s. 4d.]. Theſe unfortunate people, who had neither eaten nor drunk for three days, cheerfully accepted the terms that were offered them. Half of the money was paid the ſame day: the other part was expected from the inland parts of the country; when there appeared, on an eminence, a conſiderable body of troops advancing, and near the port a fleet of ſeventeen ſhips from Europe. At the ſight of this armament, the freebooters, without any marks of ſurpriſe, retreated quietly with fifteen hundren ſlaves they had carred off with them, as a trifling indemnification for the reſt of the money they expected, the ſettling of which they referred to a more favourable opportunity. Theſe ruffians firmly believed, that whatever they pillaged or exacted force of arms, upon the coaſts where they made a deſcent, was their lawful property, and that God and their arms gave them an undoubted right not only to the capital of theſe contributions they compelled the inhabitants to ſign a written engagement to fulfil, but even to the intereſt of that part of the ſum that was not yet paid.

Their retreat was equally glorious and daring. They boldly ſailed through the midſt of the Spaniſh fleet, which let them paſs without firing a ſingle gun; and were, in fact, rather afraid of being attacked and beaten. The Spaniards would not probably have eſcaped ſo eaſily, and with no other inconvenience, but ſuch as aroſe from their fears, if the veſſels of the pirates had not been laden with riches, or if the Spaniſh fleet had been freighted with any other effects but ſuch merchandiſe as were little valued by theſe pirates.

A year had ſcarce elapſed ſince their return from Mexico, when on a ſudden they were all ſeized with the rage of going to plunder the country of Peru. They expected, undoubtedly, to find greater treaſures upon a ſea little frequented, than upon one ſo long expoſed to plunder. The French and Engliſh, and even the pirate aſſociations of theſe two nations, projected this plan at the ſame time, without having concerted it together. Four thouſand men directed their courſe to this part of the New Hemiſphere. Some of them came by the continent, and others by the Straits of Magellan, to the place that was the object of their wiſhes. If the intrepidity of theſe barbarians had been directed, by a ſkilful and reſpectable commander, to one ſingle uniform end, this important colony would have been loſt to Spain. But their natural character was an invincible obſtacle to ſo rare an union; for they always formed themſelves into ſeveral diſtinct bodies, ſometimes into ſo few in number as ten or twelve, who acted together, or ſeparately, as the moſt trifling caprice directed. Grognier, Lécuyer, Picard, and Le Sage, were the moſt diſtinguiſhed officers among the French: David, Samms, Peter, Wilner, and Townley, among the Engliſh.

Such of thoſe adventurers as had got into the South Sea by the Straits of Darien, ſeized upon the firſt veſſels they found upon the coaſt. Their aſſociates, who had ſailed in their own veſſels, were not much better provided. Weak, however, as they were, they beat, ſunk, or took, all the ſhips that were fitted out againſt them. The Spaniards then ſuſpended their navigations. The freebooters were continually obliged to make deſcents upon the coaſts, to get proviſions; or to go by land, in order to plunder thoſe cities where the booty was ſecured. They ſucceſſively attacked Seppo, Peubla-Neuvo, Leon, Reuleje, Pueblo-Viejo, Chiriquita, Eſparſo, Granada, Villia, Nicoya, Tecoantepec, Mucmeluna, Chuluteca, New Segovia, and Guayaquil, the moſt conſiderable of all theſe places.

As Grognier was returning home from one of thoſe rapid expeditions, he found that a defile through which he was to paſs was occupied by ſome battalions that were intrenched, who offered not to impede his retreat, provided he would conſent to releaſe the priſoners he had taken. *If,* ſaid he, *you would have my priſoners, you muſt cut their irons aſunder with your ſabres; with reſpect to my paſſage, my ſword ſecures that to me.* This anſwer gained him a victory, and he purſued his march unmoleſted.

Univerſal terror prevailed throughout the empire; the approach of the freebooters, and even the fear of their arrival, diſperſed the people. The Spaniards, grown effeminate by the moſt extravagant luxury, enervated by the peaceful exerciſe of their tyranny, and reduced to the ſtate of their ſlaves, never waited for the enemy, unleſs they were at leaſt twenty to one; and even then they were beaten. They retained no impreſſion of the pride and nobility of their origin. They were ſo much degenerated, that they had loſt all ideas of the art of war, and were even ſcarce acquainted with the uſe of fire-arms. They were but little better than the Americans, whom they trampled upon. This extraordinary want of courage was increaſed, from the idea they had conceived of the ferocious men who attacked them. Their monks had drawn them with the ſame hideous features with which they repreſented devils; and they themſelves had overcharged the picture. Such a repreſentation, the offſpring of a wild and terrified imagination, equally imprinted on every mind averſion and terror.

Notwithſtanding the exceſs of their reſentment, the Spaniards only recked their revenge upon their foes when they were no more able to inſpire terror. As ſoon as the Buccaneers had quitted the place they had plundered, and if any of them had been killed in the attack, the body was digged up again, mutilated, or made to paſs through the various kinds of torture that would have been practiſed upon the man had he been alive. This abhorrence of the freebooters was extended even to the places on which they had exerciſed their cruelties. The cities they had taken were excommunicated; the very walls and ſoil of the places which had been laid waſte were anathematized, and the inhabitants abandoned them for ever.

This rage, equally impotent and childiſh, could only contribute to embolden that of their enemies. As ſoon as they took a town, it was directly ſet on fire, unleſs a ſum proportioned to its value was given to ſave it. The priſoners taken in battle were maſſacred without mercy, if they were not ranſomed by government, or by individuals: gold, pearls, or precious ſtones, were the only things accepted of for the payment of their ranſom. Silver being too common, and too weighty in proportion to its value, would have been troubleſome to them. In a word, the chances of fortune, that ſeldom leave guilt unpuniſhed, nor adverſity without a compenſation for its ſufferings, atoned for the crimes committed in the conqueſt of the New World, and the Indians were amply avenged of the Spaniards.

But it happened in this, as it generally does in events of this nature, that thoſe who committed ſuch outrages did not long enjoy the fruits of them. Several of them died in the courſe of theſe piracies, from the effects of the climate, from diſtreſs or debauchery. Some were ſhipwrecked in paſſing the Straits of Magellan, and at Cape Horn. Moſt of thoſe who attempted to get to the Northern Sea by land fell into the ambuſcade that was laid for them, and loſt either their lives or the booty they had acquired. The Engliſh and French colonies gained very little by an expedition that laſted four years, and found themſelves deprived of their braveſt inhabitants.

While ſuch piracies were committed on the Southern Ocean, the Northern was threatened with the ſame by Grammont. He was a native of Paris, by birth a gentleman, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a military capacity in Europe; but his paſſion for wine, gaming, and women, had induced him to join the pirates. His virtues, perhaps, were ſufficient to have atoned for his vices. He was affable, polite, generous, and eloquent: he was endued with a ſound judgment, and was a perſon of approved valour, which ſoon made him be conſidered as the chief of the French freebooters. As ſoon as it was known that he had taken up arms, he was immediately joined by a number of brave men. The governor of St. Domingo, who had at length prevailed upon his maſter to approve of the project, equally wiſe and juſt, of fixing the pirates to ſome place, and inducing them to become cultivators, was deſirous of preventing the concerted expedition, and forbade it in the king's name. Grammont, who had a greater ſhare of ſenſe than his aſſociates, was not on that account more inclined to comply, and ſternly replied, *How can Lewis diſapprove of a deſign he is unacquainted with, and which hath been planned only a few days ago?* This anſwer highly pleaſed all the freebooters, who directly embarked, in 1685, to attack Campeachy.

They landed without oppoſition. But, at ſome diſtance from the coaſt, they were attacked by eight hundred Spaniards, who were beaten, and purſued to the town, where both parties entered at the ſame time. The cannon they found there was immediately levelled againſt the citadel. As it had very little effect, they were contriving ſome ſtratagem to enable them to become maſters of the place, when intelligence was brought that it was abandoned. There remained in it only a gunner, an Engliſhman, and an officer of ſuch ſignal courage, that he choſe rather to expoſe himſelf to the greateſt extremities, than baſely to fly from the place with the reſt. The commander of the Buccaneers received him with marks of diſtinction, generouſly releaſed him, gave him up all his effects, and beſides complimented him with ſome valuable preſents: ſuch influence have courage and fidelity, even on the minds of thoſe who ſeem to violate all the rights of ſociety.

The conquerors of Campeachy ſpent two months in ſearching all the environs of the city, for twelve or fifteen leagues, carrying off every thing that the inhabitants, in their flight, thought they had preſerved. When all the treaſure they had collected from every quarter was depoſited in the ſhips, a propoſal was made to the governor of the province, who ſtill kept the field with nine hundred men, to ranſom his capital city. His refuſal determined them to burn it, and demoliſh the citadel. The French, on the feſtival of St. Louis, were celebrating the anniverſary of their king, and, in the tranſports of their patriotiſm, intoxication, and national love of their prince, they burnt to the value of a million [41,666l. 13s. 4d.] of logwood; a part, and a very conſiderable one too, of the ſpoil they had made. After this ſingular and extravagant inſtance of folly, of which Frenchmen only could boaſt, they returned to St. Domingo.

The little advantage which the Engliſh and French freebooters had made by their laſt expeditions upon the continent had inſenſibly led them to have recourſe to their uſual piratical expeditions upon the ſea. Both were employed in attacking the ſhips they met with; when a particular train of circumſtances again engaged the French in that courſe, which every thing had rendered them diſſatisfied with.

A few enterpriſing men had fitted out, in 1697, in the ports of France, and under the ſanction of government, ſeven ſhips of the line, and a proportionate number of inferior veſſels. This fleet, commanded by Commodore Pointis, conveyed troops for landing; and its deſtination was againſt Carthagena, one of the richeſt and beſt fortified towns of the New World. It was expected that this expedition would be attended with great difficulties, but it was hoped that they would be ſurmounted, if the Buccaneers would aſſiſt in it, which they did engage to do, from motives of complaiſance to Ducaſſe, governor of St. Domingo, who was, and deſerved to be, their idol.

Theſe men, whoſe boldneſs could not be reſtrained, did ſtill more than was expected from them. No ſooner had they perceived a ſmall breach in the fortifications of the lower town, than they ſtormed the place, and planted their ſtandards upon the walls. They carried the other works with the ſame intrepidity. The town ſurrendered, and its ſubmiſſion was owing to the Buccaneers.

All kinds of enormities ſucceeded this event. The general, who was an unjuſt, covetous, and cruel man, broke every article of the capitulation. Although the apprehenſions of an army that was collecting in the inland country, had made him conſent that the inhabitants ſhould keep half of their moveable effects, yet every thing was given up to the moſt horrible plunder. The officers were the firſt thieves; and it was not till they had gorged themſelves with the ſpoils, that the ſoldiers were ſuffered to ranſack the houſes. As for the Buccaneers, they were kept in employment out of the town, while the treaſure was ſeized.

Pointis pretended that the ſpoils did not exceed ſeven or eight millions of livres [from 291,666l. 13s. 4d. to 333,333l. 6s. 8d.]. Ducaſſe valued them at 30,000,000 [1,250,000l.], and others at 40,000,000 [1,666,666l. 10s. 4d.]. The Buccaneers, according to agreement, were to receive one quarter of the whole, whatever it might be. They were however given to underſtand, that their profit would only amount to 40,000 crowns [5000l.].

The ſhips had ſet ſail, when the propoſal was made to theſe intrepid men, who had decided the victory. Exaſperated at this treatment, which ſo evidently affected their rights, and diſappointed their expectations, they reſolved immediately to board the veſſel called *the Sceptre*, where Pointis himſelf was, and which, at that time, was too far diſtant from the reſt of the ſhips, to expect to be aſſiſted by them. This infamous commander was upon the point of being maſſacred, when one of the malcontents cried out: *Brethren, why ſhould we attack this raſcal? He hath carried off nothing that belongs to us. He hath left our ſhare at Carthagena, and there we muſt go to recover it.* This propoſal was received with general applauſe. A ſavage joy at once ſucceeded that gloomy melancholy which had ſeized them; and, without further deliberation, all their ſhips ſailed towards the city.

As ſoon as they had entered the city, without meeting with any reſiſtance, the Buccaneers ſhut up all the men in the great church, and ſpoke to them in the following words:

" We are not ignorant that you conſider us as men
" void of faith and of all religion, as infernal beings
" rather than men. The abhorrence you have of us
" hath been manifeſted by the opprobrious terms with
" which you affect to deſcribe us; and your miſtruſt
" of us, by your refuſing to treat with us of your capitulation.
" You ſee us here armed, and capable of
" avenging ourſelves. The paleneſs viſible upon your
" countenances plainly ſhows that you expect the moſt
" ſevere treatment; and your conſcience tells you, no
" doubt, that you deſerve it. Be at length undeceived,
" and acknowledge, in this inſtance, that the injurious
" appellations with which you ſtigmatize us are
" not to be applied to us, but to the infamous general
" under whoſe command we lately fought. The

“traitor to whom we have opened the gates of the city, which he would never have entered without our aſſiſtance, hath ſeized upon the ſpoils acquired at our hazard, and by our courage; and, by this act of injuſtice, hath compelled us to return to you. Our moderation muſt juſtify our ſincerity. We will quit your city immediately, upon your delivering 5,000,000 of livres [208,333l. 6s. 8d.] into our hands. This is the whole of our claim; and we pledge our honour to you, that we will inſtantly retreat. But if you refuſe us ſo moderate a contribution, look at our ſabres: we ſwear by them that we will ſpare no perſon; and when the miſfortunes which threaten you ſhall come upon you, and upon your wives and children, accuſe none but yourſelves and the worthleſs Pointis, whom you are at liberty to load with all kinds of execrations.”

After this diſcourſe, a ſacred orator mounted the pulpit, and made uſe of the influence that his character, his authority, and his eloquence gave him, to perſuade his hearers to yield up, without reſerve, all the gold, ſilver, and jewels they had. The collection made after the ſermon not furniſhing the ſum required, the city was ordered to be plundered. From the houſes, they proceeded to pillage the churches, and even the tombs, but with no great ſucceſs; and the inſtruments of torture were at length produced.

Two of the citizens of the greateſt diſtinction were ſeized, and after them two more, in order to endeavour to extort from them, where the public money, as well as that of individuals, was concealed. They all anſwered, ſeparately, with ſo much candour, as well as firmneſs, that they were ignorant of it, that avarice itſelf was diſarmed. Some muſkets were, however, fired off, to induce a belief that theſe unfortunate men had been ſhot. Every one apprehended the ſame fate; and that very evening one million of livres [41,666l. 13s. 4d.] was brought in to the freebooters. The following days produced alſo ſomething more. Deſpairing, at length, to add any thing to what they had already amaſſed, they ſet ſail. Unfortunately they fell in with a fleet of Dutch and Engliſh ſhips, both thoſe nations being then in alliance with Spain, and ſeveral of their ſmall veſſels were either taken or ſunk; the reſt eſcaped to St. Domingo.

Such was the laſt memorable event in the hiſtory of the freebooters.

The ſeparation of the Engliſh and French, when the war, on account of the Prince of Orange, divided the two nations; the ſucceſsful means they both made uſe of to promote the cultivation of land in their colonies, by the aſſiſtance of theſe enterpriſing men; the prudence that was ſhown, in fixing the moſt diſtinguiſhed among them, and intruſting them with civil and military employments; the protection they were under a neceſſity of affording ſucceſſively to the Spaniſh ſettlements, which, till then, had been a general object of plunder: all theſe circumſtances, and various others, beſide the impoſſibility there was of ſupplying the place of ſo many extraordinary men, who were continually dropping off, concurred to put an end to the moſt ſingular ſociety that had ever exiſted. Without any regular ſyſtem, without laws, without any degree of ſubordination, and even without any fixed revenue, they became the aſtoniſhment of the age in which they lived, as they will alſo be of poſterity. They would have ſubdued all America, had they been animated with the ſpirit of conqueſt, as they were with that of rapine.

England, France, and Holland, had ſent, at different times, conſiderable fleets into the New World. The intemperance of the climate, the want of ſubſiſtence, the dejection of the troops, rendered the beſt-concerted ſchemes unſucceſsful. Neither of theſe nations acquired any national glory, nor made any conſiderable progreſs, by them. Upon the very ſcene of their diſgrace, and on the very ſpot where they were ſo ſhamefully repulſed, a ſmall number of adventurers, who had no other reſources to enable them to carry on a war, but what the war itſelf afforded them, ſucceeded in the moſt difficult enterpriſes. They ſupplied the want of numbers and of power, by their activity, their vigilance, and bravery. An unbounded paſſion for liberty and independence excited and kept up in them that energy of ſoul that enables us to undertake and execute every thing; it produced that vigour, that ſuperiority in action, which the moſt approved military diſcipline, the moſt powerful combinations of ſtrength, the beſt regulated governments, the moſt honourable and moſt ſtriking rewards and marks of diſtinction, will never be able to excite.

The principle which actuated theſe extraordinary and romantic men is not eaſily diſcovered. It cannot be aſcribed to want; the earth they trod upon offered them immenſe treaſures, collected ready to their hand by men of inferior capacities. Can it then be imputed to avarice? But would they then have ſquandered away in a day the ſpoils acquired in a whole campaign? As they properly belonged to no country, they did not therefore ſacrifice themſelves for its defence, for the aggrandizing of its territories, or for the avenging of its quarrels. The love of glory, had they known it, would have prevented them from committing ſuch numberleſs enormities and crimes, which caſt a ſhade on all their brighteſt actions. Neither could a ſpirit of indolence and eaſe ever make men expoſe themſelves to conſtant fatigues, and ſubmit to the greateſt dangers.

What then were the moral cauſes that gave riſe to ſo ſingular a ſociety as that of the freebooters? That country, where nature ſeems to have obtained a perpetual and abſolute power over the moſt turbulent paſſions, where the intemperate riot and intoxication occaſioned by public feſtivals was neceſſary to rouſe men from an habitual ſtate of lethargy, where they lived ſatisfied with their tedious and indolent courſe of life; that country became at once inhabited by an ardent and impetuous people, who, from the ſcorching heat of their atmoſphere, ſeemed to have carried their ſentiments to the greateſt exceſs, and their paſſions to a degree of frenzy. While the heats of a burning climate enervated the old conquerors of the New World; while the Spaniards, who were ſo reſtleſs and turbulent in their own country, enjoyed, with the conquered Americans, a life habituated to eaſe and dejection; a ſet of men, who had come out of the moſt temperate climates in Europe, went under the equator to acquire powers unknown before.

If we ſhould be deſirous of tracing the origin of this revolution, we ſhall perceive that it ariſes from the freebooters having lived under the ſhackles of European governments. The ſpirit of liberty being repreſſed for ſo many ages, exerted its power to a degree almoſt inconceivable, and occaſioned the moſt terrible effects that were ever exhibited in the moral world. Reſtleſs and enthuſiaſtic men of every nation joined themſelves to theſe adventurers, as ſoon as they heard of the ſucceſs they had met with. The charms of novelty; the idea of, and deſire excited by, diſtant objects; the want of a change in ſituation; the hopes of better fortune; the impulſe which excites the imagination to the undertaking of great actions; admiration, which eaſily induces men to imitation; the neceſſity of getting the better of thoſe impediments that are the conſequences of imprudence; the force of example; and the being equally partakers of the ſame good and bad fortune among thoſe who have frequently aſſociated together: in a word, the temporary ferment which all the elements together, with ſeveral accidental circumſtances, had raiſed in the minds of men, alternately elevated to the greateſt proſperity, or ſunk in the deepeſt diſtreſs, at one time ſtained with blood, at another revelling in voluptuouſneſs, rendered the freebooters a people wholly diſtinct in hiſtory; but a people whoſe duration was ſo tranſient, that its glory laſted, as it were, but a moment.

We are, however, accuſtomed to conſider theſe ruffians with a kind of abhorrence. This they deſerve, as the inſtances of fidelity, integrity, diſintereſtedneſs, and generoſity they ſhowed to one another, did not prevent the outrages they perpetually committed againſt mankind. But amidſt ſuch enormities, it is impoſſible not to be ſurpriſed at a variety of brave and noble actions, that would have reflected honour on the moſt virtuous people.

Some freebooters had agreed, for a certain ſum, to eſcort a Spaniſh ſhip, very richly laden. One of them ventured to propoſe to his companions to enrich themſelves at once, by making themſelves maſters of the ſhip. Montauban, who was the commander of the troop, had no ſooner heard the propoſal, than he deſired to reſign the command, and to be ſet on ſhore. What! replied theſe brave men, would you then leave us? Is there any one among us who approves of the treachery that you abhor? A council was immediately called; and it was determined that the guilty perſon ſhould be thrown upon the firſt coaſt they came to. They took an oath, that ſo diſhoneſt a man ſhould never be admitted in any expedition, in which any of the brave men preſent ſhould be concerned, as they would think themſelves diſhonoured by ſuch a connection. If this be not conſidered as an inſtance of heroiſm, muſt we then expect to meet with heroes in an age in which every thing great is turned into ridicule, under the idea of enthuſiaſm?

Accordingly, the hiſtory of paſt times doth not offer, nor will that of future times ever produce, an example of ſuch an aſſociation; which is almoſt as marvellous as the diſcovery of the New World. Nothing but this event could have given riſe to it, by collecting together, in thoſe diſtant regions, all the men of the higheſt impetuoſity and energy of ſoul that had ever appeared in our ſtates.

Their ſword, and their daring ſpirit, which they exerciſed with ſuch terrible effect in America, was the only fortune which theſe men of ſo uncommon a ſtamp poſſeſſed in Europe. In America, being enemies to all mankind, and dreaded by all; perpetually expoſed to the moſt extreme dangers, they muſt neceſſarily have conſidered every day as if the laſt of their life, and they would, conſequently, diſſipate their wealth in the ſame manner as they had acquired it. They would give themſelves up to all the exceſſes of debauchery and profuſion; and, on their return from the fight, the intoxication of their victory would accompany them in their feaſts; they would embrace their miſtreſſes in their bloody arms; they would fall aſleep, for a while, lulled by voluptuous pleaſures, from which they would be rouſed only to proceed to new maſſacres. As it was a matter of indifference to them whether they ſhould leave their bodies upon the ſurface of the earth, or underneath the waters, they muſt neceſſarily look upon life or death with the ſame coolneſs. With a ferocious turn of mind, and a miſguided conſcience, deſtitute of connections, of relations, of friends, of fellow-citizens, of a country, and of an aſylum, and without having any of thoſe motives which moderate the ardour of bravery, by the value which they attach to exiſtence, they muſt neceſſarily have ruſhed, like men deprived of ſight, upon the moſt deſperate attempts. Equally incapable of ſubmitting to indigence or to quiet; too proud to employ themſelves in common labour; they would have been the ſcourge of the Old, had they not been that of the New World. Had they not gone to ravage thoſe diſtant countries, they would have ranſacked our provinces, and would have left behind them a name famous in the catalogue of our greateſt villains.

Cauſes that prevented the Engliſh and Dutch from making any conqueſt in America during the war for the Spaniſh ſucceſſion.

America had ſcarce recovered from the ravages ſhe had ſuſtained; ſhe had ſcarce begun to be ſenſible of the advantages ſhe derived from the induſtry of the freebooters, who were now become citizens and huſbandmen; when the Old World exhibited the ſcene of ſuch a revolution as alarmed and terrified the New. Charles the Second, king of Spain, had juſt ended a life of trouble and anxiety. His ſubjects, perſuaded that a deſcendant of the houſe of Bourbon alone was able to preſerve the monarchy entire, had urged him, towards the cloſe of his life, to appoint the duke of Anjou his ſucceſſor. The idea of having the government of two-and-twenty kingdoms devolve to a family that was not only his rival, but his enemy, had filled him with the moſt gloomy apprehenſions. But after ſeveral internal ſtruggles, and numberleſs marks of irreſolution, he at length prevailed upon himſelf to ſhow an example of juſtice, and greatneſs of ſoul, which the natural weakneſs of his character gave little reaſon to expect from him.

Europe, tired out, for half a century, with the haughtineſs, ambition, and tyranny of Lewis XIV. exerted its combined forces to prevent the increaſe of a power already become too formidable. The fatal effects of a bad adminiſtration had entirely enervated the Spaniards; the ſpirit of ſuperſtition, and conſequently of weakneſs, that prevailed then in France, had procured ſuch advantages to the league, as are hardly to be paralleled in the inſtance of the union of ſeveral powers againſt a ſingle one. This league gained an influence, that was increaſed by the victories, equally glorious and beneficial, it obtained every campaign. Both kingdoms were ſoon left without ſtrength or fame. To add to their miſfortunes, their calamities were a general object of joy, and none were touched with a ſenſe of compaſſion at the miſeries they experienced.

England and Holland, after having profuſely laviſhed their blood and treaſures in defence of the emperor, thought it neceſſary to attend to their own intereſts in America. This country invited them to rich as well as eaſy conqueſts. Spain, ſince the deſtruction of its galleons at Vigo, had no ſhips; and France, after having experienced that fatal reverſe of fortune that had reduced her to the loweſt ebb, had neglected her navy. This inattention was owing to a diſtant cauſe.

Lewis XIV. who, in his earlier age, was ambitious of every thing that might add to his glory, thought that ſomething would be wanting to the ſplendour of his reign if he did not eſtabliſh a conſiderable naval force. His numerous fleets were ſoon in a condition to balance the combined forces of England and of

Holland, and conveyed the terror of his name to the extremities of the globe. But he ſoon loſt this new ſpecies of grandeur. In proportion as his inordinate ambition drew upon him freſh enemies, as he found himſelf obliged to maintain a greater number of troops in conſtant pay, as the frontiers of the kingdom were extended, and as his forts became more numerous, the number of his ſhips decreaſed. He made uſe of part of the funds that were deſtined to ſupport his maritime power, even before his neceſſities obliged him to it. The frequent removals of the court, public buildings, that were either uſeleſs or too magnificent, objects of oſtentation, or of mere pleaſure, and various other cauſes equally trifling, abſorbed that part of the public revenue, which ought to have been employed in his maritime armaments. From that time, this part of the power of France began to grow weak: it inſenſibly declined, and was entirely loſt in the misfortunes of the war that was raiſed for the Spaniſh ſucceſſion.

At this period, the acquiſitions the Spaniards and French had made in the Weſt Indies were not put in a ſtate of defence. They were, therefore, the more likely ſoon to become the property of Great Britain and the United Provinces; the only modern nations who had eſtabliſhed their political influence upon the principles of commerce. The vaſt diſcoveries of the Spaniards and Portugueſe had given them, indeed, an excluſive poſſeſſion of thoſe treaſures and productions that ſeemed to promiſe them the empire of the world, if riches could obtain it: but theſe nations, intoxicated as they were with the love of gold and the idea of conqueſt, had never in the leaſt ſuſpected that their poſſeſſions in the New World could ſupport their power in the Old. The Engliſh and Dutch went into the contrary extreme; building their opinions upon the ſyſtem of the influence they ſuppoſed America muſt neceſſarily give to Europe: A ſyſtem which they not only miſapplied, but carried to exceſs.

Theſe two nations, one of which had no natural advantages, and the other very inconſiderable ones, had,

BOOK X.

from the earlieſt period, diſcovered the true principles of commerce, and purſued them with greater perſeverance than might have been expected from the different ſituations they had been engaged in. Accidental circumſtances having at firſt animated the induſtry of the pooreſt of theſe nations, ſhe found herſelf very quickly equalled by her rival power, whoſe genius was more lively, and whoſe reſources were much greater. The war, occaſioned by a ſpirit of induſtry, and excited by jealouſy, ſoon degenerated into fierce, obſtinate, and bloody engagements. Theſe were not merely ſuch hoſtilities as are carried on between two different people; they reſembled rather the hatred and revenge of one private man againſt another. The neceſſity they were under of uniting, in order to check and reſtrain the power of France, ſuſpended theſe hoſtilities. The ſucceſs they met with, which was, perhaps, too rapid and deciſive, revived their former animoſity. From the apprehenſion they were under, that each ſtate was labouring for the aggrandizement of the other, they entirely neglected the invaſion of America. Queen Anne, at length, availing herſelf of a favourable opportunity for concluding a ſeparate peace, procured ſuch advantageous terms, as gave the Engliſh a great ſuperiority over their rivals the Dutch. From that time, England became of the greateſt importance in the political ſyſtem of Europe, and Holland was totally diſregarded.

Remarkable activity that prevailed in the iſlands of America after the peace of Utrecht.

The years ſucceeding the peace of Utrecht revived the ideas of the golden age to the world, which would be always in a ſufficient ſtate of tranquillity, if the Europeans did not diſturb its peace, by carrying their arms and their diſſenſions into every quarter of the globe. The fields were now no more covered with dead bodies. The harveſt of the huſbandman was not laid waſte. The ſailor ventured to ſail in every ſea without dread of pirates. Mothers no more ſaw their children forced from them, to laviſh their blood at the caprice of a weak monarch or an ambitious miniſter. Nations did no longer unite to gratify the paſſions of their ſovereigns. For ſome time, men lived together as brethren, as much, at leaſt, as the pride of princes, and the avidity of the people, would allow.

Although this general happineſs was to be attributed to thoſe who held the reins of government, yet the improvement of reaſon contributed, in ſome degree, to produce it. Philoſophy then began to lay open and recommend the ſentiments of benevolence. The writings of ſome philoſophers had been made public, or diſperſed among the people, and contributed to poliſh and refine their manners. The ſpirit of moderation had inſpired men with the love of the more uſeful and pleaſing arts of life, and abated, at leaſt, the deſire they till then had of deſtroying one another. The thirſt of blood ſeemed to be aſſuaged, and all nations, with the aſſiſtance of the diſcoveries they had made, ardently ſet about the improvement of their population, agriculture, and manufactures.

This ſpirit of activity exerted itſelf principally in the Caribbee Iſlands. The ſtates upon the continent can ſubſiſt, and even flouriſh, when the rage of war is kindled in their neighbourhood and on their frontiers; becauſe the principal object of their attention is the culture of their lands, their manufactures, their ſubſiſtence, and internal conſumptions. This is not the caſe with regard to thoſe ſettlements which different nations have formed in the great Archipelago of America. In theſe, life and property are equally precarious. None of the neceſſaries of life are the natural produce of the climate. Wearing apparel, and the inſtruments of huſbandry, are not even made in the country. All their commodities are intended for exportation. Nothing but an eaſy and ſafe communication with Africa, with the northern coaſts of the New World, but principally with Europe, can procure to theſe iſlands that free circulation of the neceſſaries of life they receive, and of thoſe ſuperfluities they give in exchange. The more the coloniſts had ſuffered from the effects of that long and dreadful commotion that had thrown every thing into confuſion, the greater was their vigilance in endeavouring to repair the loſſes their fortunes had ſuſtained. The very hopes entertained that the general weakneſs would enſure a laſting tranquillity, encouraged the moſt cautious merchants to ſupply the coloniſts with goods in advance; a circumſtance that contributed greatly to quicken the progreſs they made, which, notwithſtanding all their care and attention, would otherwiſe have been very ſlow. Theſe aſſiſtances enſured as well as increaſed the proſperity of the iſlands, till a ſtorm, that had been a long time gathering, broke out in the year 1739, and diſturbed the peace of the world.

The iſlands of America are the cauſe of the war in 1739. Events in that war, and the termination of it.

The Engliſh colonies, but chiefly Jamaica, had carried on a contraband trade with the Spaniſh ſettlements in the New World, which cuſtom had long made them conſider as lawful. The court of Madrid becoming better acquainted with its intereſts, concerted meaſures to put a ſtop to, or at leaſt to check, this intercourſe. The plan might poſſibly be prudent; but it was neceſſary it ſhould be carried into execution with equity. If the ſhips that were intended to prevent this fraudulent trade had only ſeized upon thoſe veſſels that were concerned in it, this meaſure would have deſerved commendation. But the abuſes inſeparable from violent meaſures, the eagerneſs of gain, and perhaps too, a ſpirit of revenge, incited them to ſtop, under the pretence of their carrying on a contraband trade, many ſhips which in reality had a legal deſtination.

England, whoſe ſecurity, power, and glory, is founded upon commerce, could not very patiently ſuffer even her uſurpations to be reſtrained; but was highly incenſed when ſhe found that theſe hoſtilities were carried to an exceſs inconſiſtent with the law of nations. In London, and in the houſe of parliament, general complaints were made againſt the authors of them, and invectives againſt the miniſter who ſuffered them. Walpole, who had long ruled Great Britain, and whoſe character and abilities were better adapted to peace than war, and the Spaniſh council, which ſhowed leſs ſpirit as the ſtorm increaſed, concerted together terms of reconciliation. Thoſe fixed upon, and ſigned at Pardo, were not approved by a people equally inflamed by its intereſts, its reſentments, and by party ſpirit, and eſpecially by the number of political writings that were conſtantly publiſhed on the ſubject.

The ſovereign of any country, who forbids the liberty of diſcuſſing publicly matters of adminiſtration, and politics, gives an authentic atteſtation of his propenſity to tyranny, and of the impropriety of his meaſures. It is juſt as if he were to ſay to the people: "I know full as well as you do, that what I have determined upon is contrary to your liberty, your prerogatives, your intereſt, your tranquillity, and your happineſs; but I do not chooſe that you ſhould murmur at it. I will never ſuffer you to be enlightened, becauſe it is convenient to me that you ſhould remain in that ſtate of ſtupidity, which will prevent you from diſcerning my caprices, my vanity, my extravagant diſſipations, my oſtentation, the depredations of my courtiers and of my favourites, my ruinous amuſements, and my ſtill more ruinous paſſions, from the public good, which never was, is not, nor ever will be, as far as depends upon me and my ſucceſſors, any thing more than a decent pretence. Every thing I do is well done, you may either believe or not, as you chooſe; but you muſt be ſilent. I will prove to you, by all the moſt extravagant and atrocious meaſures, that I reign for myſelf alone, and neither by you nor for you. And if any one of you ſhould be raſh enough to contradict me, let him periſh in the obſcurity of a dungeon, or let him be ſtrangled, that he may for ever be deprived of the powers of committing a ſimilar act of indiſcretion; for ſuch is my will and pleaſure." In conſequence of ſuch declarations, a man of genius muſt be either ſilent or be put to death; and a nation muſt be kept in a ſtate of barbariſm, with reſpect to their religion, their laws, their morals, and their government, and in the ignorance of the moſt important things relative to their real intereſts, to their power, to their trade, to their ſplendour, and to their felicity; while all the nations around are improving themſelves by the daring efforts, and the concurrence of numbers of enlightened men, whoſe views are directed to thoſe objects alone that are really worthy of their attention. The reaſoning of an adminiſtration, which prohibits information, is defective in every particular; the progreſs of improvement is not to be ſtopt, nor even to be checked, without manifeſt diſadvantage. Prohibition hath no other effect than to irritate men, and to inſpire them with an idea of rebellion, and to give all their writings a libellous tendency. It is doing too much honour to innocent ſubjects, to be alarmed at a few pages of writing, when two hundred thouſand aſſaſſins are ready to execute the orders of government.

England teems daily with numberleſs productions of the preſs, in which all the concerns of the nation are treated with freedom. Among theſe writings ſome are judicious, written by men of underſtanding, or citizens well informed and zealous for the public good. Their advice contributes to diſcover to the public their true intereſts, and to aſſiſt the operations of government. Few uſeful regulations of internal economy are adopted in the ſtate, that have not firſt been pointed out, modelled, or improved in ſome of theſe writings. Unhappy are the people who are deprived of ſuch an advantage.

“ But it may be ſaid, that among the few ſenſible
‘ men who ſerve to enlighten their country, numbers
‘ are to be met with, who, either from a diſguſt to
‘ thoſe in power, or from a deſire of falling in with the
‘ taſte of the people, or from ſome perſonal motives,
‘ delight in fomenting a ſpirit of diſſenſion and diſcon-
‘ tent. The means generally made uſe of for this
‘ purpoſe, are to heighten the pretenſions of their coun-
‘ try beyond their juſt and legal bounds, and to make
‘ the people conſider the ſmalleſt precautions taken by
‘ other powers for the preſervation of their poſſeſſions,
‘ as viſible encroachments. Theſe exaggerations, equal-

'ly partial and falſe, eſtabliſh prejudices, the effects of which occaſion the nation to be conſtantly at war with its neighbours. If government, from a deſire of preſerving the balance of juſtice between itſelf and other powers, ſhould refuſe to yield to popular prejudices, it finds itſelf, at length, compelled to it.'

The liberty of the preſs is undoubtedly attended with theſe inconveniencies; but they are ſo trifling, and ſo tranſient, when compared with the advantages reſulting from it, that they do not deſerve our notice. The queſtion is reduced to this: *Is it better that a people ſhould be in a perpetual ſtate of ſtupidity, than that they ſhould be ſometimes turbulent?* Sovereigns, if ye mean to be wicked, ſuffer your people to write; you will find men corrupt enough to ſerve you according to your evil deſires, and who will improve you in the art of a Tiberius. If ye mean to be good, permit them alſo to write; you will find ſome honeſt men who will improve you in the art of a Trajan. How many things are ye ſtill ignorant of, before ye can become great, either in good or in evil.

The mob of London, the moſt contemptible of any in the univerſe, as the people of England conſidered in a political view are the firſt people in the world, abetted by twenty thouſand young men, the ſons of diſtinguiſhed merchants, beſet the parliament houſe with clamours and threats, and influence its deliberations. Such tumults are frequently excited by a party in the parliament itſelf. Theſe deſpicable men, once rouſed, revile the moſt reſpectable citizen, who hath incurred their diſpleaſure, and been rendered ſuſpicious to them: they ſet fire to his houſe, and ſcandalouſly inſult the moſt ſacred characters. The tumult can never be appeaſed, unleſs they force the miniſtry to yield to their fury. This indirect, though continual influence of commerce upon the public meaſures, was, perhaps never ſo ſenſibly felt as at the period we are ſpeaking of.

England began the war with much ſuperior advantages. She had a great number of ſailors on foot. Her magazines were filled with warlike ſtores, and her dock-yards were in the moſt flouriſhing condition. Her fleets were all manned and ready for ſervice, and commanded by experienced officers, who waited only for orders to ſet ſail, and to ſpread the terror and glory of her flag to the extremities of the world. Walpole, by neglecting ſuch great advantages, muſt not be cenſured as having betrayed his country. In this particular he is above ſuſpicion, ſince he was never even accuſed of corruption, in a country where ſuch charges have been often made without being believed. His conduct, however, was not entirely irreproachable. The apprehenſion he was under of involving himſelf in difficulties that might endanger his adminiſtration; the neceſſity he found of applying thoſe treaſures in military operations, that he had amaſſed to bribe and ſecure to himſelf a party, joined to that of impoſing new taxes, which muſt neceſſarily raiſe to the higheſt degree the averſion that had been entertained both for his perſon and principles: all theſe, and ſome other circumſtances, occaſioned an irreſolution in his conduct that was attended with the moſt fatal conſequences. He loſt time, which is of the utmoſt importance in every expedition, but particularly deciſive in all naval operations.

The fleet that Vernon commanded, after having deſtroyed Porto-Bello, was unſucceſsful at Carthagena, rather from the badneſs of the climate, and the miſunderſtanding and inexperience of the officers, than from the valour of the garriſon. Anſon's fleet was loſt at the doubling of Cape Horn, which ſome months ſooner might have been performed without danger. If we were to judge of what he might have done with his whole ſquadron, from what he actually performed with a ſingle ſhip, it is not improbable but that he would at leaſt have ſhaken the empire of the Spaniards in the South Sea. A ſettlement that was attempted in the iſland of Cuba was not proſperous. Thoſe who intended building a city there all died. General Oglethorpe, after having opened the trenches for thirty-eight days, was forced to raiſe the ſiege of Fort St. Auſtin in Florida, vigorouſly defended by Manuel Montiano, who had been allowed time enough to prepare himſelf againſt the attack.

Though the firſt efforts of the Engliſh againſt Spaniſh America were not ſucceſsful, yet the alarm was not appeaſed. The navy, the character, and government of the Engliſh, were three great reſources they had ſtill left, ſufficient to make the Spaniards tremble. In vain did France unite her naval powers, to act in conjunction with thoſe of Spain. This confederacy neither checked the intrepidity of the common enemy, nor animated the minds of ſuch as were overwhelmed with fear. Fortunately for both nations, as well as for America, the death of the Emperor Charles the VI. had kindled in Europe an obſtinate war, in which the Britiſh troops were detained, to ſupport an intereſt that was extremely doubtful. The hoſtilities, commenced in diſtant countries with ſuch great preparations, terminated at laſt inſenſibly in a few piracies that were committed on both ſides. The moſt remarkable event that happened at that time was the taking of Cape-Breton, which expoſed the fiſhery, commerce, and colonies of France, to the greateſt dangers. This valuable poſſeſſion was reſtored to the French at the peace; but the treaty that gave it up was not leſs the object of cenſure.

The French, ever influenced by a ſpirit of chivalry, that hath ſo long been the dazzling folly of all Europe, imagine the ſacrifice of their lives ſufficiently compenſated, if it hath contributed to extend the frontiers of their country; that is to ſay, when they have compelled their prince to the neceſſity of governing them with leſs attention and equity than he did before; but if their territory remains the ſame as it was before the war, they then think their honour is loſt. This rage for conqueſt, excuſable indeed in a barbarous age, but which more enlightened ones ſhould never be reproached with, threw diſgrace on the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which reſtored to Auſtria all the places that had been taken from her. The nation, too trifling and capricious to attend to political diſcuſſions, would not be convinced, that, by forming any kind of eſtabliſhment for the Infant Don Philip, an alliance with Spain was effectually ſecured: that ſhe herſelf was thereby engaged to adjuſt, with the houſe of Auſtria, ſome intereſts of the greateſt importance: that, by becoming guarantees to the king of Pruſſia for Sileſia, two rival powers would, in conſequence of ſuch an arrangement, be formed in Germany; to produce which happy effect had been the labour and care of two centuries: that, by reſtoring Friburg, and thoſe towns in Flanders that had been deſtroyed, they would be eaſily retaken, if war ſhould again be declared, and carried on with vigour: beſides, that the number of land forces might always be very eaſily diminiſhed of fifty thouſand men, and the ſaving which ſuch a reduction would produce, might and ought to have been employed in increaſing the navy.

If, therefore, the French nation had not even been obliged to attend to the management of its affairs at home, which were then in a very alarming ſtate; if her credit and commerce had not been entirely ruined; if ſome of her moſt conſiderable provinces had not been in the greateſt diſtreſs; if ſhe had not loſt the key of Canada; if her colonies had not been threatened with certain and immediate invaſion; if her navy had not been ſo entirely deſtroyed, as ſcarcely to have a ſhip left to ſend into the New World; and if Spain had not been upon the point of concluding a ſeparate treaty with England: independent of all theſe circumſtances, yet the peace that was then made would have deſerved the approbation of the moſt ſenſible and judicious men.

The caſe with which Marſhal Saxe could penetrate into the internal provinces of the Netherlands, was an object that particularly attracted the French. It will readily be allowed, that nothing ſeemed impoſſible to the victorious arms of Lewis XV.; but it may be thought paradoxical to aſſert, that the Engliſh were extremely deſirous of ſeeing the Dutch ſubdued. If the republic, which could not poſſibly ſeparate itſelf from its allies, had been conquered, its inhabitants, filled as they were with ancient, as well as preſent prejudices againſt the government, laws, manners, and religion of their conqueror, would hardly have ſubmitted to his dominion. Would they not certainly have conveyed their people, their ſtock, and their induſtry to Great Britain? And can there be the leaſt doubt, whether ſuch conſiderable advantages would not have been infinitely more valuable to the Engliſh, than an alliance with the Dutch?

To this obſervation let us venture to add another, which, though not attended to before, will, perhaps, not ſeem leſs evident. The court of Vienna hath been thought either very fortunate, or very ſkilful, in having been able, by the means of negotiations, to wreſt out of the hands of the French thoſe places which had been taken from them during the war. But would they not have been more fortunate, or more ſkilful, had they ſuffered their enemy to keep part of the conqueſts they had obtained? The period is now paſſed, when the houſe of Auſtria was equal, or, perhaps, ſuperior in ſtrength to the houſe of Bourbon. Policy, therefore, ſhould have engaged her to intereſt other powers in her fortune, even from the loſſes ſhe had ſuſtained. This might have been effected, by ſacrificing ſomething, apparently at leaſt, to France. Europe, alarmed at the increaſing power of this monarchy, which is naturally an object of hatred, envy, and fear, would have renewed that ſpirit of animoſity that had been ſworn againſt Lewis XIV.; and more formidable leagues would neceſſarily have been formed in conſequence of ſuch ſentiments. This general diſpoſition of the people was more likely to have recovered the greatneſs of the new houſe of Auſtria, than the re-acquiſition of a diſtant and limited territory, always open to an attack.

It is probable, however, that the French plenipotentiary who managed the negotiation, as well as the miniſter who directed it, would have ſeen through the artifice. We do not even ſcruple to aſſert, that neither of theſe ſtateſmen had any view of extending the French dominions. But would they have found the ſame penetration to unravel political deſigns in the council, to which they were reſponſible for their conduct? This is a point we cannot preſume to determine. All governments are generally inclined to extend their territories; and that of France is, from its conſtitution, equally ſo.

But whatever truth there may be in theſe reflections, it muſt be allowed, that the expectations of the two French miniſters, who ſettled the peace, were diſappointed. The principal object they had in view was the preſervation of the colonies that had been threatened by the enemy. But as ſoon as the danger was over, this unbounded ſource of opulence was neglected. France kept on foot a large body of troops, retained in her pay a great part of Germany, and acted in the ſame manner as if another Charles V. had threatened her frontiers, or another Philip II. could have thrown the internal parts of the kingdom into confuſion by his intrigues. She was not ſenſible that her ſuperiority upon the continent was acknowledged; that no ſingle power could venture to attack her; and that the event of the laſt war, and the arrangements ſettled by the laſt peace, had rendered the union of ſeveral powers againſt her impoſſible. A number of apprehenſions, equally weak and trifling, diſturbed her tranquillity. Her prejudices prevented her from perceiving that ſhe had only one enemy really deſerving her attention, and that this enemy could only be reſtrained by a conſiderable fleet.

The Engliſh, more inclined to envy the proſperity of others than to enjoy their own, are not only deſirous of becoming rich, but of being excluſively ſo. Their ambition is gain, as that of the Romans was empire. They do not properly ſeek to extend their dominion, but their colonies. Commerce is the ſole object of all the wars they are engaged in, and the deſire of engroſſing it all to themſelves hath made them perform many great actions, and commit the moſt flagrant acts of injuſtice, and obliges them to perſevere in the ſame conduct. Will the nations never be tired of that ſpecies of tyranny which ſets them at defiance, and degrades them? Will they perpetually continue in that ſtate of weakneſs which compels them to ſubmit to a deſpotiſm they would be very deſirous of annihilating? If they ſhould ever form an alliance among themſelves, how could one ſingle power be able to reſiſt them, unleſs deſtiny were always in its favour, which it would be very imprudent to depend upon? Who is it that hath enſured eternal proſperity to the Engliſh? and if it could be enſured to them, would it not be too dearly purchaſed by the loſs of a tranquillity which they could never enjoy? and would they not be too ſeverely puniſhed for it, by the alarms of a ſpirit of jealouſy which ever obliges them to keep an anxious and watchful eye upon the ſlighteſt movements of the other powers? Is it very glorious; is it very pleaſing; is it very advantageous; and is it very ſafe, for one nation to reign in the midſt of others, as a ſultan in the midſt of his ſlaves? Will a dangerous increaſe of outward enmity be ſufficiently compenſated by the baneful increaſe of inward opulence? Engliſhmen, avidity knows no bounds; but patience hath its end, which is almoſt always fatal to thoſe who urge it to that extreme. But the paſſion for trade exerts ſuch influence over you, that even your philoſophers are governed by it. The celebrated Mr. Boyle uſed to ſay, that it would be a commendable action to preach Chriſtianity to the ſavages, becauſe, were they to know only ſo much of it as would convince them of their obligation to wear clothes, it would prove of great ſervice to the Engliſh manufactures.

America was the cauſe of the war in 1755.

A ſyſtem of this nature, which the Engliſh have ſcarce ever loſt ſight of, diſcovered itſelf more openly in 1755, than it had ever done before. The rapid improvements made in the French colonies ſurpriſed every attentive mind, and awakened the jealouſy of the Engliſh. Aſhamed, however, to let it appear at firſt, they concealed it for ſome time under myſterious diſguiſes; and a people who have pride or modeſty enough to term negotiations the *artillery of their enemies*, did not ſcruple to employ all the windings and artifices of the moſt inſidious policy.

France, alarmed at the confuſed ſtate of her finances, intimidated by the ſmall number of her ſhips, and the inexperience of her admirals; ſeduced by a love of eaſe, pleaſure, and tranquillity, favoured the attempts that were made to deceive her. In vain did ſome able ſtateſmen continually urge, that Great Britain was, and ought to be, deſirous of a war; and that ſhe was compelled to begin it, before the naval eſtabliſhment of her rival had attained to the ſame degree of perfection as her trading navy. Theſe cauſes of apprehenſion ſeemed abſurd in a country where trade had been hitherto carried on by a ſpirit of imitation only; where it had been ſhackled by every ſpecies of reſtraint, and always ſacrificed to finance; where it had never met with any real encouragement, and where men knew not, perhaps, that they were in poſſeſſion of the moſt valuable and richeſt commerce in the world. A nation, that was indebted to nature for a moſt excellent ſoil; to chance for her colonies; to the vivacity and pliancy of her diſpoſition, for a taſte in thoſe arts which vary and increaſe the enjoyments of life; to her conqueſts and her literary merit, and even to the diſperſion of the Proteſtants ſhe had unfortunately loſt, for the deſire excited in other countries of imitating her: this nation, that would be too happy, were ſhe permitted to enjoy her happineſs, would not perceive that ſhe might be deprived of ſome of theſe advantages, and inſenſibly fell a ſacrifice to thoſe arts employed to lull her into ſecurity. When the Engliſh thought there was no further occaſion to diſſemble, they commenced hoſtilities, without having previouſly paid any attention to thoſe formalities that are in uſe among civilized people.

Did the nation, which is reckoned ſo proud, ſo humane. and ſo prudent, reflect upon what was doing? It reduced the moſt ſacred conventions of nations among themſelves, to the artifices of a perfidious policy; it freed them from the common tie that connects them, by diſcarding the chimerical idea of the right of nations. Did theſe people perceive, that they were fixing a conſtant ſtate of war; that they were making peace a time of apprehenſion only; that they were introducing on the globe nothing but a falſe and deceitful ſecurity; that ſovereigns were becoming ſo many wolves, ready to devour each other; that the empire of diſcord was becoming unbounded; that the moſt cruel and moſt unjuſt repriſals were authoriſed; and that arms were no longer to be laid aſide? At that time there was a half Themiſtocles in the miniſtry; but there was not one Ariſtides in all Great Britain; ſince, far from exclaiming, in imitation of the Athenians, who were not themſelves the moſt ſcrupulous men among the Greeks: *The thing is uſeful, but it is not honeſt; let it be mentioned no more:* the Engliſh, on the contrary, congratulated themſelves upon an ignominious act, againſt which the voice of all Europe was raiſed with indignation. Acts of hoſtility, without a declaration of war, when there is even no treaty of peace ſubſiſting, is the proceeding of barbarians. Hoſtilities, againſt the faith of treaties, but preceded by a declaration of war, by what pretence ſoever it may be palliated, would be a diſguſting act of injuſtice, if the habit of it had not been frequent, and if the ſhame of it did not light upon almoſt all the powers. Hoſtilities, without a declaration of war, againſt a neighbouring people, who are quietly repoſing themſelves upon the faith of treaties, upon the right of nations, upon a reciprocal intercourſe of good-will, upon civilized manners, upon the ſame God, upon the ſame worſhip, upon the reciprocal reſidence and protection granted to the citizens of both nations in their reſpective countries: ſuch hoſtilities are a crime, which, in every ſociety, would be treated as murder on the highway; and if there were any expreſs code againſt it, as there is a tacit one, formed and ſubſcribed to between all nations, we ſhould then read the following ſentence: LET US ALL UNITE AGAINST THE TRAITOR, AND LET HIM BE EXTERMINATED FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH. The nation that commits ſuch a crime, purſues its intereſt with unbounded and ſhameleſs jealouſy; it ſhows that it is deſtitute of equity and honour; that it deſpiſes equally the judgment of the preſent time, and the cenſure of poſterity; and that it hath more regard for its exiſtence among nations, than for the colours it will be painted in in their hiſtory. If it be the ſtrongeſt, it is a mean tyrant; it is a lion, which debaſes itſelf to act the abject part of a fox. If it be the weakeſt, and be apprehenſive for itſelf, it may, perhaps, be leſs odious, but it is equally baſe. How much more noble, and how much more advantageous, was the cuſtom of the Roman people! Let us open, as they did, the gates of our temples; let an ambaſſador be ſent to the enemy's frontiers, and there let him declare war, by ſhaking the ſkirts of his garments, at the ſound of the trumpet of the herald that attends him. Let us not maſſacre an enemy that ſleeps. If we dip our hand into the blood of him who thinks himſelf our friend, the ſtain of it will never be wiped off. It will always call to mind the Macbeth of the poet.

Though a declaration of war were only a mere ceremony between nations, which ſeem to be bound by no ties as ſoon as they intend to maſſacre one another, yet it is very evident, that the Britiſh miniſtry were more than doubtful of the injuſtice of their conduct. The timidity of their meaſures, the perplexity of their operations, the prevaricating modes of juſtification they adopted, and the influence they in vain exerted to make parliament approve ſo ſcandalous a violation; theſe, with ſeveral other circumſtances, plainly diſcovered the guilt of their proceeding. If thoſe weak miniſters of ſo great a power had been as bold in committing crimes, as they appeared regardleſs of the laws of virtue, they would have formed a project of the moſt extenſive nature. When they unjuſtly gave orders to attack all the French ſhips upon the northern coaſt of America, they would have extended theſe orders to every ſea. The ruin of the only power that was capable of making any reſiſtance, would have been the neceſſary conſequence of ſuch a ſtrong confederacy. Its fall would have intimidated all other nations; and, wherever the Engliſh flag had appeared, it would have commanded obedience in every quarter of the world. A ſucceſs ſo remarkable and deciſive would have made the multitude overlook the violation of public right, would have juſtified it to the political world, and the remonſtrances of the wiſe would have been loſt in the clamours of the ignorant and ambitious.

The beginning of the war is unfavourable to the Engliſh.

A timid, but equally unjuſtifiable conduct, was attended with very contrary effects. The council of George II. was hated, as well as deſpiſed, over all Europe; and the events correſponded to theſe ſentiments. France, though unexpectedly attacked, was victorious in Canada, gained conſiderable advantages by ſea, took Minorca, and threatened London itſelf. Her rival was then ſenſible of the truth of what men of underſtanding had long ſince obſerved in England, that the French united the greateſt contrarieties in their character; that they blended virtues and vices, marks of weakneſs and ſtrength that had always been thought inconſiſtent with each other; that they were brave, though effeminate; equally addicted to pleaſure and glory; ſerious in trifles, and trifling in matters of importance; ever diſpoſed to war, and ready to attack: in a word, mere children, ſuffering themſelves, as the Athenians of old, to be diſquieted and moved to anger for real or imaginary intereſts; fond of enterpriſe and action, ready to follow any guide, and comforted in the greateſt misfortunes with the moſt trifling ſucceſs. The Engliſh, who, according to a vulgar though ſtrong expreſſion of Swift's, are *always in the cellar or in the garret*, and know no medium, began then to be too much afraid of a nation that they had unjuſtly deſpiſed. A ſpirit of deſpondency ſucceeded to that of preſumption.

The nation, corrupted by the too great confidence it had placed in its opulence; humbled by the introduction of foreign troops, and by the moral character and inability of its governors; weakened too by the colliſion of factions, which keep up an exertion of ſtrength among a free people in times of peace, but which deſtroy their power in times of war; the nation, diſgraced, aſtoniſhed, and uncertain what meaſures to purſue; equally ſenſible of the diſtreſſes it had already been expoſed to, as of thoſe it foreſaw, was incapable of exerting itſelf to avenge the one or prevent the other. All zeal for the common cauſe was confined to the granting of immenſe ſupplies. That the coward is ſooner diſpoſed to part with his money than the brave man, in order to ward off danger; and that the preſent critical ſituation of affairs required them not to conſider who ſhould pay, but who ſhould ſtand forward to fight; theſe were truths, which, at that time, ſeemed to have been forgotten.

The French, on their part, were dazzled with ſome inſtances of ſucceſs that were of no conſequence. Preſuming that the ſurpriſe their enemies had been thrown into was a proof of their weakneſs, they involved themſelves further than was conſiſtent with their intereſt in the diſturbances which then began to divide the German powers.

A ſyſtem, which, if unſucceſsful, muſt have been attended with the greateſt diſgrace, and, if fortunate, muſt have been deſtructive in the end, ſerved to confound them. Their levity made them forget, that a few months before they had applauded the wiſe and enlightened ſtateſman, who, being deſirous to avoid a land war, which ſome miniſters were willing to enter into, from their deſpairing of ſucceſs at ſea, had, with the vivacity and confidence peculiar to genius, addreſſed himſelf to them in the following words: *Gentlemen,* ſaid he, *let us all, who are here preſent in council, go out, with torches in our hands, and ſet fire to all our ſhips, if they are uſeleſs to our defence, and are only conducive to make our enemies inſult us.* This political in-

[illegible]n threw them into the greateſt difficulties. Errors of the cabinet were followed by military faults. The management of the army was ſubjected to the intrigues of the court. A ſeries of bad ſucceſs was the conſequence of a perpetual change of commanders. This light and ſuperficial nation did not perceive, that, even ſuppoſing, what indeed was impoſſible, that all thoſe who were ſucceſſively intruſted with the direction of the military operations had really been men of abilities, yet they could not contend with advantage againſt a man of genius, aſſiſted by one of diſtinguiſhed capacity. Misfortunes made no alteration in the plan that had been formed, and the changes of generals were endleſs.

While the French were thus deceived, the Engliſh, from a ſpirit of dejection, were inflamed with the utmoſt reſentment: they changed a miniſter who had juſtly excited general diſſatisfaction, and placed at the head of affairs a man who was equally an enemy to timid meaſures, to the royal prerogative, and to France. Although this choice was the conſequence of that ſpirit of party which cauſes the greateſt revolutions in England, yet it was ſuch as the circumſtances of the times required. William Pitt had a ſoul formed for great deſigns; was diſtinguiſhed by a ſpecies of eloquence that never failed to captivate his hearers, and by a character equally firm and enterpriſing. He was ambitious to make his country riſe ſuperior to all others, and at the ſame time to raiſe his own fame. His enthuſiaſm fired a nation which will always be inſpired by a love of liberty. The admiral who had ſuffered Minorca to be taken was arreſted, thrown into priſon, accuſed, tried, and ſentenced to death. Neither his rank, abilities, family, nor friends, could protect him from the rigour of the law. His own ſhip was fixed upon as the ſpot where the ſentence paſſed upon him was to be put in execution. All Europe, at the news of this melancholy event, was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, blended with admiration and horror. It recal[illegible]e memory of the ancient republics. The death of Byng, whether guilty or not, proclaimed, [illegible] moſt alarming manner, to thoſe who were employed by the nation, what fate they muſt expect, if they betrayed the confidence repoſed in them. Every man ſaid to himſelf, in the inſtant of battle, It is on this field I muſt die, rather than with infamy on a ſcaffold. Thus the blood of one man, accuſed of cowardice, was productive of a ſpirit of heroiſm.

This ſyſtem of holding out an example of terror to ſubdue the impreſſions of fear, was further ſtrengthened by an emulation, that ſeemed to promiſe the revival of public ſpirit. Diſſipation, pleaſure, indolence, and often vice and a corruption of manners, occaſion warm and frequent connections in moſt kingdoms of Europe. The Engliſh have leſs intercourſe and connection with each other; they have, perhaps, leſs taſte for ſocial life than other nations; but the idea of any project that may be ſerviceable to the ſtate immediately unites them, and they ſeem, as it were, animated by one ſoul. All ranks, parties, and ſects, contribute to inſure its ſucceſs, and with ſuch liberality as cannot be paralleled in thoſe places where the notion of a particular native country does not prevail.

And, in fact, why ſhould we be concerned for the glory of a nation, when we can expect no other return for the ſacrifices we make, than an increaſe of miſery; when victories and defeats are equally fatal; victories, by giving riſe to taxes to pave the way for them; and defeats, by occaſioning taxes to repair them? If there were not ſome little remains of honour ſubſiſting in us, in ſpite of all the efforts that are made uſe of to ſtifle it, and which proves, that, under vexations of every kind, the people ſtill retain ſome feeling for the diſgrace of the nation, they would be equally affected with its proſperity or its misfortunes. Will they experience better treatment, whether the ſovereign be victorious or conquered; whether he acquire or loſe a province; whether trade ſhould fall or proſper? Th zeal of the Engliſh is more remarkably diſtir when the nation hath placed an implicit co the miniſter who hath the direction of public meaſures. As ſoon as Mr. Pitt was made prime miniſter, a marine ſociety was eſtabliſhed, which, perceiving that there appeared a remiſſneſs in general to enter into the ſea ſervice, and diſapproving the cuſtom of preſſing men into it, invited the children of the pooreſt claſs in the three kingdoms to become ſhip boys, and their fathers ſailors. They undertook to pay the expences of their voyage; to take care of them in ſickneſs; to feed, clothe, and furniſh them with every thing neceſſary to preſerve their health during the time they were to be at ſea. The king, moved by this inſtance of patriotiſm, gave them 22,500 livres [937l. 10s.], the prince of Wales 9000 livres [375l.], and the princeſs of Wales 4500 [187l. 10s.]. The actors of the different theatres, whoſe abilities have not been treated with contempt by this enlightened nation, acted their beſt plays for the increaſe of ſo reſpectable an eſtabliſhment. The theatres were never ſo much crowded as on this occaſion. A hundred of theſe ſhip boys, and a hundred of the ſailors, clothed from a zeal that may truly be holden ſacred, appeared upon the ſtage; a decoration this, ſurely, not inferior to that ariſing from the multitude of lights, the elegance of dreſs, and the brilliancy of jewels.

The Engliſh are rouſed from their lethargy, and ſeize the French and Spaniſh iſlands. Account of the author of theſe ſucceſſes.

This public zeal, and attachment to the intereſts of the nation, animated the minds of all the Engliſh, and the effects of it were diſplayed in the difference of their conduct. They ravaged the coaſts of their enemies; beat them every where by ſea; intercepted their navigation, and gave a check to all their forces in Weſtphalia. They drove them out of North America, Africa, and the Eaſt Indies. Till Mr. Pitt became miniſter, all the expeditions of the nation, made in diſtant countries, had been unſucceſsful, and muſt neceſſarily have been ſo, becauſe they had been ill-concerted. He, on the contrary, planned ſuch prudent and uſeful deſigns; his preparations were conducted with ſo much foreſight and diſpatch; his means were ſo well adapted to the ends he wanted to obtain; he made ſuch a prudent choice of the perſons whom he intruſted with his deſigns; he eſtabliſhed ſuch harmony between the land and ſea forces, and raiſed the ſpirits of the Engliſh to ſuch a height, that his whole adminiſtration was a ſeries of conqueſts. His mind, ſtill ſuperior to his glory, made him deſpiſe the idle clamours of thoſe who cenſured what they called his profuſions. He uſed to ſay with Philip, father of Alexander the Great, *That victory was to be purchaſed by money, and that money muſt not be ſpared at the expence of victory.*

By ſuch a conduct, and ſuch principles, Mr. Pitt had at all times, and in all places, triumphed over the French. He purſued them to their moſt valuable iſlands, even to their ſugar colonies. Theſe poſſeſſions, ſo juſtly prized for their riches, were not, however, better ſecured. The fortifications that were erected there were conſtructed without judgment, and were falling to decay. Theſe ruins were equally deſtitute of defenders, of arms, and of ammunition. Ever ſince the beginning of hoſtilities, all intercourſe between theſe great ſettlements and the mother-country had been at an end. They could neither receive ſubſiſtence from it, nor enrich it with their productions. The buildings neceſſary for the carrying on of agriculture, were a heap of ruins. The maſters and the ſlaves, equally deſtitute of the neceſſaries of life, were obliged to feed upon the cattle deſtined for the labours of huſbandry. If any rapacious navigators ever reached them, it was through ſo many dangers, that the coloniſts were obliged to pay for what they bought of theſe traders at a very advanced price, and to give them in exchange whatever they conſented to take from them at the loweſt. Though the coloniſts did not call in the aid of any foreign power to their aſſiſtance, yet it was not to be expected, that their attachments to their mother-country would induce them to make a vigorous defence againſt an enemy that might put an end to their diſtreſſes.

In this ſituation of affairs, ten ſhips of the line, ſome bomb-ketches and frigates, with five thouſand Indforces, ſailed from England, and arrived at Guadalupe. They appeared before the town on the 22d of January 1759, and the next day bombarded the town of Baſſe-Terre. If the beſiegers had known how to take advantage of the terror they had ſpread, the iſland would have made a very ſhort reſiſtance: but the ſlowneſs, timidity, and irreſolution of their operations afforded the garriſon and the inhabitants leiſure to fortify themſelves in a paſs that was only at the diſtance of two leagues from the place. From this ſpot they ſtopped the progreſs of the enemy, who were equally diſtreſſed from the heat of the climate and the want of proviſions. The Engliſh, deſpairing of making themſelves maſters of the colony on this ſide, proceeded to attack it in another quarter, known by the name of Grande-Terre. It was defended by a fort called Fort Lewis, which made ſtill leſs reſiſtance than that of Baſſe-Terre, that had ſurrendered in four-and-twenty hours. The conquerors were again guilty of the error they had before fallen into, and ſuffered the ſame inconveniencies from it. The event of the expedition began to be doubtful, when Barrington, who ſucceeded to the command at the death of Hopſon, changed the plan of operations. He gave up the idea of penetrating into the country, and re-embarked his ſoldiers, who ſucceſſively attacked the houſes and villages upon the coaſts. The ravages they committed obliged the coloniſts to ſubmit. The whole iſland, after three months defence, ſurrendered on the 21ſt day of April, upon very honourable terms of capitulation.

The troops that had obtained this victory did not engage in this expedition, till they had ineffectually threatened Martinico. Three years after, Great Britain revived a deſign that had been too haſtily given up; but greater preparations and more effectual means were employed to carry it into execution. On the 16th of January 1762, eighteen battalions, under the command of general Monckton, and eighteen ſhips of the line commanded by admiral Rodney, the firſt ſent from North America, and the latter from Europe, appeared before the capital of the iſland. The landing of the troops the next day was ſoon effected, without difficulty and without loſs. To take poſſeſſion of the eminences that were fortified and defended by Fort Royal, ſeemed to be a matter not ſo eaſily accompliſhed. Theſe obſtacles, however, were, after ſome warm engagements, ſurmounted, and the place, that would ſoon have been reduced to aſhes by the bombs, capitulated on the 9th of February; and the whole colony did the ſame on the 13th. It is probable that the proſperity of Guadalupe under the Britiſh government, contributed to bring about this general ſurrender; which might, and ought to have been delayed longer. Granada and the other Leeward Iſlands, whether ſubject to France, or which, though peopled by Frenchmen, were neutral, ſurrendered themſelves, without making any reſiſtance.

Even St. Domingo, the only poſſeſſion the French ſtill retained in the Archipelago of America, was likely to fall into the hands of the Engliſh; and its loſs ſeemed to be not far diſtant. If it had not even been known that this was the firſt conqueſt Great Britain would attempt, yet it could not be ſuppoſed that it would eſcape its avidity. Would this ambitious nation have checked the career of its own ſucceſſes ſo far as to give up all thoughts of a conqueſt that would have completed its proſperity? This was a point that ſeemed not to admit of a doubt. The colony was generally known to be entirely without any means of defence, either within or without, and therefore incapable of making the leaſt reſiſtance. It was ſo ſenſible of its weakneſs, that it ſeemed diſpoſed to ſurrender as ſoon as it ſhould be ſummoned to do it.

The court of Verſailles was equally aſtoniſhed and alarmed at the loſſes it had ſuſtained, and at thoſe it foreſaw. It had expected ſuch an obſtinate reſiſtance as would have been ſuperior to every attack. The deſcendants of thoſe brave adventurers, who had ſettled theſe colonies, ſeemed a rampart ſufficient to repel all the forces of the Britiſh empire. They almoſt felt a ſecret ſatisfaction that the Engliſh were directing their efforts towards that quarter. The miniſtry had inſpired the nation with the ſame confidence that poſſeſſed them, and it was the mark of a bad citizen to ſhow the leaſt uneaſineſs.

It is an obſervation we may now be permitted to make, that events, which have once happened, will happen again. A people whoſe whole fortune conſiſts in fields and paſtures, will, if influenced by any degree of ſpirit, reſolutely defend their poſſeſſions. The harveſt of one year is the utmoſt they can loſe, and whatever calamity they may experience, does not diſtreſs them to ſuch a degree as to leave them without hopes of recovery. The caſe is very different with regard to the wealthy cultivators of theſe colonies. Whenever they take up arms, they run the riſk of having the labours of their whole lives deſtroyed, their ſlaves carried off, and all the hopes of their poſterity either loſt by fire or plunder: they will therefore always ſubmit to the enemy. Though ſatisfied with the government under which they live, they are leſs attached to its glory than to their own riches.

The example of the firſt coloniſts, whoſe perſeverance could not be ſhaken by the moſt vigorous attacks, does not affect the truth of this obſervation. The object of the war was then the acquiſition of territory, and the expulſion of the inhabitants; at preſent, a war waged againſt a colony is directed only againſt the ſovereign of it.

The plan of attacking Martinico was laid by Mr. Pitt, though he was not in the miniſtry when it was ſubdued. The reſignation of this great man drew the attention of Europe, and deſerves to be conſidered by every one, who inveſtigates the cauſes and effects of political revolutions. An hiſtorian, who ventures to write the tranſactions of his own age, hath ſeldom, it muſt be granted, ſufficient lights to guide him. The councils of kings are ſo ſecret, that time alone can gradually withdraw the veil that ſurrounds them. Their miniſters, faithful depoſitaries of the ſecrets they have been intruſted with, or intereſted to conceal them, explain themſelves no further than is ſufficient to miſlead the curious inquirer, who wiſhes to diſcover them. Whatever penetration he may poſſeſs, in tracing the ſource and connection of events, he is at laſt reduced to conjecture. If his conjectures happen to be juſt, ſtill he is ignorant that they are ſo, or cannot depend upon them; and this uncertainty is ſcarcely more ſatisfactory than a total ignorance. He muſt therefore wait till prudence and intereſt, freed from the reſtraint of ſilence, ſhall unfold the truth; in a word, till ſome valuable and original records be produced for public inſpection, wherein the latent ſprings on which the deſtiny of nations hath depended, ſhall be diſcovered.

Theſe reflections ſhould ſuſpend the inquiries of the man who wants only to attend to the progreſs of political intrigues. They are diſſolved as ſoon as they are formed. We could only collect ſeparate parts of them, which could not be brought together unleſs by conjecture, which might be the further diſtant from the truth, in proportion as more ſagacity had been diſplayed in the forming of it. We ſhould often be likely to fill up with ſome great view, or with ſome profound ſpeculation, a vacancy which preſents itſelf, from our ignorance of ſome witticiſm, of ſome frivolous caprice, of ſome trifling reſentment, or of ſome childiſh emotion of jealouſy: for theſe are the wonderful levers with which the earth hath ſo often been moved, and will ſtill be moved hereafter. If it be then prudent to ſay nothing of the obſcure cauſes of events, it is at leaſt the time to ſpeak of the character of thoſe who have conducted them. We know what they were in their infancy, in their youth, in a more mature age, in their family and in ſociety, in private life, and in public affairs. We know what their natural and acquired talents were; their ruling paſſions, their vices, their virtues, their inclinations, and their averſions; their connections, their animoſities, and their friendſhips, their perſonal and relative intereſts; the marks of favour or diſgrace they have experienced; the means they have employed to obtain their high poſts, and to maintain themſelves in them; the conduct they have obſerved with regard to their protectors and their dependents; the projects they have conceived, and the manner in which they have executed them; the character of the men they have employed; the obſtacles they have met with, and the manner in which they have ſurmounted them: in a word, we know the ſucceſs they have had; the reward they have obtained in conſequence of it; the puniſhment they have ſuffered when they have miſcarried; the praiſe or blame beſtowed upon them by the nation; the manner in which they have ended their career, and the reputation they have left behind them after death.

We are deſirous of penetrating into the ſoul of one the greateſt men of his age, and perhaps we can never do it at a more proper time. The moſt conſpicuous actions only of a man's life are tranſmitted to poſterity, which will, therefore, be deprived of a variety of ſimple and artleſs details, that enlighten the mind of an obſerver, who lived at the time they happened.

Mr. Pitt, after having reſcued England from the kind of diſgrace it had been expoſed to in the beginning of the war, arrived to a height of ſucceſs that aſtoniſhed all the world. Whether he foreſaw this or not, he did not ſeem to be embarraſſed with it, and reſolved to carry it as far as he could. The moderation which ſo many ſtateſmen had affected before him, ſeemed to him to be only a pretence to conceal their weakneſs or their indolence. He thought that all ſtates ſhould exert their power to the utmoſt, and that there was no inſtance of one nation being able to become ſuperior to another, and not effecting it. The parallel he drew between England and France confirmed him in his opinion. He perceived, with uneaſineſs, that the power of England, founded upon a trade which ſhe might and would loſe, was very inconſiderable, when compared with that of her rival, which nature, art, and particular circumſtances, had raiſed to ſuch a degree of ſtrength, under favourable adminiſtrations, as had made all Europe tremble. Senſible of this truth, he therefore determined to deprive France of her colonies, and to reduce her to that ſtate, to which the freedom of the New World, ſooner or later accompliſhed, will bring all nations that have formed ſettlements there.

The means neceſſary to complete this project, which was ſo far advanced, appeared to him abſolutely certain. While the imagination of weak minds took ſhadows for realities, the greateſt difficulties appeared trivial to him. Though the nation, of which he was the idol, was ſometimes alarmed at his vaſt and uncommon enterpriſes, he was not in the leaſt diſquieted about them; becauſe, in his eyes, the multitude was like a torrent, the courſe of which he knew how to direct which way he would.

Perfectly indifferent with regard to fortune, he was ſtill more ſo with regard to power. His ſucceſſes had made his adminiſtration abſolute. With the people he was a republican, with the nobles and the ſovereign he was a deſpotic miniſter. To think differently from him, was a mark of being an enemy to the common cauſe.

He availed himſelf of the ſuperiority he had gained, in order to excite the ardour of the people. Little influenced by that ſpecies of philoſophy, which, diveſting itſelf of the prejudices of national glory, to extend its views to the welfare of all mankind, tries every thing by the principles of univerſal reaſon; he kept up a violent and ſavage ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, which he called, and perhaps believed to be, a love of his country; but which was, in reality, nothing more than a ſtrong averſion for the nation he wanted to oppreſs.

France was perhaps as much diſcouraged by this ſpirit of inveteracy, that conſtantly purſued her, as by the diſtreſſes ſhe had undergone. The diminution, the exhauſted ſtate, or, to ſay the truth, the total ruin of her naval powers, afforded her a diſcouraging proſpect for the future. The expectation that a fortunate ſucceſs by land might occaſion a change in the face of affairs, was merely imaginary. If one of their ſquadrons had deſtroyed one or ſeveral of thoſe of her rival, the Engliſh would not have renounced any of their claims. This is one general rule; and another is, that whenever any power hath acquired a very determined ſuperiority at ſea, it can never loſe it in the courſe of the war; more particularly, if that ſuperiority can be traced from a diſtant cauſe, and eſpecially if it proceed partly from the character of the nation. The ſuperiority of one continent above another depends entirely on the abilities of a ſingle man, and may be loſt in a moment: on the contrary, ſuperiority at ſea, as it reſults from the vigilance and intereſt of each individual in the ſtate, muſt always increaſe, particularly when it is encouraged by national conſtitution: a ſudden invaſion can only put a ſtop to it.

Nothing but a general confederacy could have reſtored the balance of power; the impoſſibility of which Mr. Pitt plainly ſaw. He knew the reſtraints by which Holland was confined, the poverty of Sweden and Denmark, the inexperience of the Ruſſians, and the little regard that ſeveral of theſe powers paid to the intereſts of France. He was conſcious alſo of the terror which the Engliſh forces had ſpread among them all, the miſtruſt they entertained of each other, and the apprehenſion that each of them muſt have, that they ſhould be diſtreſſed before they could receive aſſiſtance.

The affairs of Spain were particularly circumſtanced. The ravages that laid waſte the French colonies, and which every day increaſed, might eaſily extend to the ſettlements of the Spaniards. Whether this kingdom was not, or would not be, ſenſible of the danger that threatened it, its uſual indolence accompanied it with regard to theſe great objects. At length, upon a change of miniſtry, a new ſyſtem took place. Don Carlos endeavoured to extinguiſh the flame; but it was too late. His overtures were received with a contemptuous haughtineſs. Mr. Pitt, having deliberately conſidered the extent of his power, anſwered every propoſal that was made, in the following manner: *I will liſten to them*, ſaid he, *when you have taken the Tower of London ſword in hand*. This mode of expreſſion might diſguſt, but it was impoſing.

Such was the ſituation of affairs when the court of France thought herſelf obliged to make overtures of peace to that of Great Britain. Both courts were equally apprehenſive, and with good reaſon, that Mr. Pitt would oppoſe them. He conſented to enter into a negotiation; but the event ſhowed, as ſenſible politicians had conjectured, that his intention was not to continue it. His deſign was only to furniſh himſelf with ſufficient proofs of the engagements that the two branches of the houſe of Bourbon had entered into againſt Great Britain, that he might make them evident to his country. As ſoon as he had gained this intelligence, he broke off the negotiation, and propoſed declaring war againſt Spain. The ſuperiority of the naval power of England above that of both theſe kingdoms, and the aſſurance he had that it would be infinitely better directed, inſpired him with this confidence.

Mr. Pitt's ſyſtem appeared, to diſtinguiſhed politicians, the only important, and, indeed, the only reaſonable one. The Engliſh nation had contracted ſuch a load of debt, that it could neither free itſelf from it, nor ſupport it, without opening to itſelf new ſources of wealth. Europe, tired out with the grievances Great Britain had made her ſubmit to, waited impatiently for an opportunity to diſable her oppreſſor from continuing them. The houſe of Bourbon could not but preſerve a ſtrong reſentment for the injuries it had ſuffered, and for the loſſes it had ſuſtained; it could not but make ſecret preparations, and gradually work up a ſpirit of revenge, to which a combination of all its forces might enſure ſucceſs. Theſe motives obliged Great Britain, though a commercial power, to aggrandiſe itſelf for its ſupport. This cruel neceſſity was not ſo ſenſibly felt by the council of George the Third as Mr. Pitt deſired. Moderation appeared to him a work of weakneſs, or of infatuation, perhaps of treachery; and he reſigned his poſt, becauſe he was not allowed to be the declared enemy of Spain.

May we venture to form a conjecture? The Engliſh miniſtry plainly ſaw that there was no poſſibility of avoiding a freſh war; but equally tired out and diſgraced by the power Mr. Pitt had aſſumed, they were deſirous of reſtoring that ſpirit of equality which is the ſpring of a republican government. Deſpairing of being able to raiſe themſelves to a level with a man ſo highly eſteemed, or of making him ſtoop to them, they united their forces to effect his ruin. As open attacks would only have turned againſt themſelves, they had recourſe to more artful methods. They attempted to ſour his temper; the natural fire of his character laid him open to ſuch a ſnare; and he fell into it. If Mr. Pitt reſigned his poſt through peeviſhneſs, he deſerves to be cenſured for not having ſuppreſſed or maſtered it. If he hoped, by this expedient, to humble his enemies, he ſhowed he had greater knowledge of affairs than of men. If, as he aſſerted, he reſigned, becauſe he would no longer be reſponſible for the meaſures he did not guide, we may be allowed to think that he was more ſtrongly attached to his own perſonal glory, than to the intereſts of his country. But whatever may have been the cauſe of his reſignation, nothing but the blindeſt, moſt unjuſt, and moſt violent partiality, can venture to aſſert, that his virtues and abilities were merely the effect of chance.

However this may be, the firſt ſtep the new miniſtry took was conformable to the principles of Mr. Pitt; and this was a kind of homage they were compelled to pay him. It was thought neceſſary to declare war againſt Spain; and the Weſt Indies were to be the ſcene of theſe new hoſtilities. Experience had already diſcouraged them from making any attempts on the continent of America, and all their views were turned towards Cuba. Men of ſenſe and underſtanding perceived that the taking of this iſland would not be attended with any apprehenſion of vengeance from the other colonies; that the empire of the Gulf of Mexico would be ſecured; that the enemy, whoſe riches aroſe principally from the amount of its cuſtoms, would be deprived of all their reſources; that the whole commerce of the continent would be ſeized upon, and the inhabitants would chooſe rather to deliver up their riches to the conqueror of their country, than to give up thoſe commodities they had been uſed to receive from Europe; in a word, that the power of Spain would be ſo much reduced by this conſiderable loſs, that it would be obliged to ſubmit to any terms.

Agreeable to this idea, a fleet, conſiſting of nineteen ſhips of the line, eighteen frigates, and about a hundred and fifty tranſports, with 10,000 troops on board, which were to be joined by 4000 more from North America, ſet ſail for the Havannah. To arrive at this formidable place, it was determined to paſs through the old ſtrait of Bahama, not ſo long in extent, though more dangerous than the new one. The obſtacles that were to be expected in this paſſage, little known, and too little attended to, were ſucceſsfully ſurmounted, in a manner worthy the reputation that Admiral Pocock had acquired. On the 6th of July he arrived at the place of his deſtination; and the landing of the troops was effected without any oppoſition, at the diſtance of ſix leagues eaſtward of thoſe dreadful fortifications that were to be taken.

The operations by land were not ſo well conducted as thoſe by ſea. If Albemarle, who had the command of the army, had been a man of abilities, equal to the commiſſion he was intruſted with, he would have begun his attack by the city. The ſingle dry wall that covered it could not have holden out four-and-twenty hours. It is probable, that the generals, the council, and the regency, who muſt infallibly have fallen into his hands by this ſucceſs, which might ſo eaſily have been obtained, would have reſolved to capitulate for the Moro. At all events, he would thus have prevented the fort from receiving any aſſiſtance or proviſions that were ſupplied from the city during the ſiege, and have ſecured the moſt likely means to reduce it in a very ſhort time.

The plan he purſued, of beginning his operations by the attack of the Moro, expoſed him to great diſtreſſes. The water that was near him was unwholeſome, and he found himſelf under a neceſſity of procuring ſome at three leagues diſtance from his camp. As the ſloops that were ſent for this purpoſe might be attacked, it was thought neceſſary to poſt a body of fifteen hundred men on the eminence of Aroſteguy, at a quarter of a league's diſtance from the town, in order to protect them. This body of troops, entirely detached from the army, and which could not be withdrawn or ſupported but by ſea, was perpetually in danger of being cut off.

Albemarle, who might have judged of the diſpoſition of the enemy from their not moleſting the troops poſted at Aroſteguy, ſhould have placed another body of men upon the public road leading to the city. By this ſtep he would have been able almoſt to ſurround it; he would, moſt undoubtedly, have diſtreſſed it by famine, prevented all removal of the effects into the country, and opened a leſs dangerous communication with Aroſteguy, than by the detachments he was conſtantly obliged to ſend, in order to ſupport this advanced body of troops.

The ſiege of the Moro was carried on without opening the trenches. The ſoldiers advanced towards the ditch, and were covered only with barrels of flints, which were, at length, exchanged for ſacks of cotton, that were taken out of ſome merchant-ſhips arrived from Jamaica. This want of foreſight occaſioned the loſs of a great number of men, always of great value, but more eſpecially ſo in a climate where diſeaſes and fatigues cauſe ſo great a conſumption of them.

The Engliſh general, having loſt the greateſt part of his army, and finding the neceſſity, for want of troops, of reimbarking in a few days, determined to attempt ſtorming the caſtle: but a large and deep ditch, cut in the rock, was firſt to be paſſed; and no preparations had been made to fill it up.

If the faults of the Engliſh were very conſiderable, thoſe of the Spaniards were ſtill greater. Though apprized above a month before, that war had commenced between the two nations, they were not rouſed from their lethargy. The enemy was already upon their coaſts, and they had made no proviſions of balls of a proper ſize for their cannons, nor of cartridges; neither had they one ſingle gun, or even a firelock fit to make uſe of.

The great number of officers, of the land and ſea ſervice, who were at the Havannah, occaſioned, during ſome days of the ſiege, a great uncertainty in the reſolutions, that could not but be favourable to the beſiegers.

Three ſhips of war were ſunk, to ſtop up the entrance into the port, which the enemy could not paſs. The road into the harbour was by this means damaged, and three great ſhips loſt to no purpoſe.

The moſt common prudence would have ſuggeſted, that the twelve men of war that were at the Havannah ſhould have been got ready to ſail. They could not poſſibly be of any ſervice in defending the place, and it was a matter of ſome conſequence to ſave them. But this was neglected. Neither did the precaution occur of ſetting them on fire, although this was the only way left to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy.

The deſtruction of the body of Engliſh troops poſted at Aroſteguy, where they could not receive any aſſiſtance, might have been eaſily effected. This check would have put the beſiegers to ſome difficulty in procuring water, would have deprived them of men, intimidated them, retarded their operations, and inſpired the Spaniſh forces with ſome degree of confidence. But, far from making ſo eaſy an attempt, they did not attack, even in the open part of the country, any of the Engliſh detachments, though compoſed entirely of infantry, and which might have been oppoſed by a regiment of dragoons, and a great number of militia, that were provided with horſes.

The communication of the city with the internal parts of the country was ſcarce ever interrupted, and yet none of thoſe who had a ſhare in the adminiſtration ever thought of conveying the royal treaſure into the inland parts, to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy.

The laſt inſtance of neglect ſerved to complete the whole. In the middle of the ditch had been left a piece of rock, terminating in a point, and ſtanding by itſelf. The Engliſh placed upon this a few tottering planks, which reached from the breach to the counterſcarp. A ſerjeant, with fifteen men, paſſed over them at one in the afternoon, and concealed themſelves among ſome ſtones that had fallen down. They were followed by a company of grenadiers, and ſome ſoldiers. When they had collected about a hundred men, in the ſpace of an hour, they got upon the breach, under no apprehenſion of being diſcovered, and found no men placed there to defend it. Velaſco, indeed, informed of what had happened, haſtened to ſave the place; but he was killed in coming up; and his death putting the Spaniſh troops that followed him into confuſion, they ſurrendered to a handful of men. The neglect of placing a centinel to obſerve the motions of the enemy lodged upon the ditch, determined this great event. A few days after, a capitulation was entered into for the city, for all the places of the colony, and for the whole iſland. Independent of the great importance of this victory in itſelf, the conquerors found in the Havannah about forty-five millions [1,875,000l.] of ſilver, and other valuable effects, which fully indemnified them for the expences of the expedition.

Advantages procured to Great Britain in the iſlands by the peace.

The loſs of Cuba, the centre of the power of Spain in the New World, made peace as neceſſary to the court of Madrid, as it could poſſibly be to that of Verſailles, whoſe diſtreſſes were now brought to the higheſt pitch. The Engliſh miniſtry, at that time, conſented to a peace; but it ſeemed a matter of much difficulty to ſettle the conditions. The ſucceſſes of Great Britain had been aſtoniſhing in North and South America. But, however ambitious ſhe might be, ſhe could not flatter herſelf with the hopes of retaining all the conqueſts ſhe had made. It was reaſonable to ſuppoſe that ſhe would give up the poſſeſſions ſhe had gained in North America, as the advantages ſhe might expect from them were diſtant, inconſiderable, and uncertain; and that ſhe would be content with reſerving to herſelf the ſugar colonies ſhe had lately acquired, which the ſtate of her finances ſeemed more particularly to require. The increaſe of her cuſtoms, that was a neceſſary conſequence of ſuch a ſyſtem, would have procured her the beſt ſinking fund that could have been imagined, and which muſt have been ſo much the more agreeable to the nation, as it would have been obtained at the expence of the French. This advantage would have been attended with three others, very conſiderable. It would, in the firſt place, have deprived a rival power, and formidable, notwithſtanding the faults it had committed, of its richeſt branch of trade. Secondly, it would have contributed to weaken it, from its being under a neceſſity of defending Canada; a colony, which, from the nature of its ſituation, muſt be detrimental to a nation that had long neglected its navy. Laſtly, it would have kept New England in a cloſer and more abſolute dependence on the mother-country, a part of America that would always want to be ſupported againſt a reſtleſs, active, and warlike neighbour.

But though the council of George III. ſhould have thought it neceſſary to reſtore to their enemies a bad country of the continent, and to reſerve the valuable iſlands, yet they would not, perhaps, have ventured to adopt ſo judicious a meaſure. In other countries the faults of the miniſters are imputed only to themſelves, or to their kings, who puniſh them for their miſconduct. In England, the errors of adminiſtration are generally the errors of the nation, who inſiſt upon obedience to their will, though guided by caprice.

The Engliſh, who have complained of the terms of the laſt peace, when they have been ſhown how far ſhort they fell of the advantages they expected from them; had, however, in ſome meaſure, dictated thoſe very terms themſelves, by the tenor of their complaints, either previous to, or during the war. The Canadians had committed ſome outrages, and the ſavages many acts of cruelty, in the Engliſh colonies. The peaceable inhabitants, terrified at the diſtreſſes they ſuffered, and more ſo at thoſe they feared, had cauſed their clamours to be heard even in Europe. Their correſpondents, intereſted to obtain them a ſpeedy and powerful redreſs, had aggravated their complaints. Thoſe writers, who eagerly lay hold of every circumſtance that can render the French odious, had loaded them with every ſpecies of invective. The people, exaſperated by the report of the ſhocking ſcenes that were perpetually preſented to its imagination, wiſhed to ſee a ſtop put to theſe barbarities.

On the other hand, the inhabitants of the ſugar colonies, ſatisfied with the carrying on of their own commerce, and gaining a part of that of their enemies, were very quiet. Far from wiſhing the conqueſt of their neighbours ſettlements, they rather dreaded it, conſidering it as deſtructive to themſelves, though advantageous to the nation. The lands of the French are ſo much ſuperior to thoſe of the Engliſh, that no competition could poſſibly have taken place. Their allies were of the ſame opinion, and followed the example of their moderation.

The conſequence of ſo contrary a plan of conduct was, that the nation was extremely indifferent about the ſugar colonies, but very anxious to acquire what they wanted in North America. Let us repreſent to ourſelves the ſituation of an enlightened man, who is convinced of the advantages of a project, which he is compelled to give up, by the miſtaken notions of a deceived multitude, in order to adopt, in preference to,

BOOK X.

it, ſome abſurd ſchemes contrary to the general good, which will diſhonour him, if he ſhould purſue them, or which will expoſe him to danger, if he ſhould refuſe: let us repreſent him to ourſelves, as employed by a ſovereign, who will diſmiſs him, if his rebellious ſubjects ſhould inſiſt upon it; and who cannot afford him any protection, if they ſhould carry their fury ſo far as to demand his life: let us view him divided, as he muſt be, between the miſtaken vanity which attaches him to his poſt, and the laudable pride which makes him careful to preſerve his reputation: let us behold him alone, retired in his cloſet, and deliberating upon the ſteps he ſhould take, amidſt the tumult and clamours of the populace, collected round his houſe, and threatening to ſet it on fire: for ſuch is the alternative, which hath been experienced, and will always be experienced, by thoſe who guide the public affairs of a free country. There is ſcarce one ſingle ſituation in the world, in which a propriety of conduct is not attended with inconveniences on both ſides. It is the property of real courage to adapt itſelf to thoſe ſeveral circumſtances and ſituations, whatever may be the reſult; but ſuch kind of courage is not often to be met with.

The miniſtry, which, in England, can never ſupport its authority againſt the people, or, at leaſt, cannot long maintain itſelf ſucceſsfully againſt its general odium, turned all their views towards North America, and found France and Spain readily diſpoſed to adopt ſuch a ſyſtem. The courts of Madrid and France gave up to the Engliſh all their former poſſeſſions, from the river St. Lawrence up to the Miſſiſſippi. Beſide this, France ceded the iſlands of Granada and Tobago, and conſented that the Engliſh ſhould keep the iſlands of St. Vincent and Dominica, that had been conſidered as neutral, provided that, on her part, ſhe might appropriate St. Lucia to herſelf. On theſe conditions, the conquerors reſtored to the allied powers all the conqueſts they had made in America.

The Britiſh miniſtry did not extend their views as far as the ſituation of things permitted

From this time England loſt the opportunity, which, perhaps, may never return, of ſeizing all the avenues, and making itſelf maſter of the ſources of all the wealth of the New World. Mexico was in its power, as the Engliſh only were in poſſeſſion of the gulf that opens the way to it; this valuable continent muſt, therefore, ſoon have become their property. It might have been allured, either by the offers of an eaſier government, or by the flattering hopes of liberty: the Spaniards might have been invited to ſhake off the yoke of the mother country, which only took up arms to diſtreſs its colonies, and not to protect them; or the Indians might have been tempted to break the chains that enſlaved them to an arbitrary government. The whole face of America might, perhaps, have been entirely changed, and the Engliſh, more free and more equitable than other monarchical powers, could not but be benefited by reſcuing the human race from the oppreſſions they ſuffered in the New World, and by removing the injuries this oppreſſion hath brought on Europe in particular.

All thoſe ſubjects, who are victims of the ſeverity, exactions, oppreſſion, and deceit of arbitrary governments; all thoſe families that are ruined by the raiſing of ſoldiers, by the ravages of armies, by the loans for carrying on war, and by the infractions of peace; all men born to think and live as men, inſtead of obeying and becoming ſubject like brutes, would have gladly taken refuge in thoſe countries. Theſe, as well as a multitude of workmen without employment; of huſbandmen without land; of men of ſcience without any occupation; and numbers of diſtreſſed and unfortunate perſons, would have flown into theſe regions, which require only juſt and civilized inhabitants to render them happy. Above all, the peaſants of the north, ſlaves [illegible] the nobility, who trample upon them, would certainly have been invited there: thoſe Ruſſian peaſants, who are employed as executioners to torture the human race, inſtead of cultivating and fertilizing the earth. Numbers of them would certainly have been loſt in theſe tranſmigrations through extenſive ſeas, into new climates; but this would have been an infinitely leſs evil than that of a tyranny, working by ſlow and artful means, and ſacrificing ſo many people to the wills of a ſmall number of men. In a word, the Engliſh would have been much more gloriouſly employed in ſupporting and favouring ſo happy a revolution, than in tormenting themſelves in defence of a liberty, that excites the envy of all kings, and which they endeavour, by every method, to undermine and deſtroy.

This is a wiſh, which, though founded on juſtice and humanity, is yet, alas! vain in itſelf, as it leaves nothing but regret in the mind of him that formed it. Muſt then the deſires of the virtuous man for the proſperity of the world be for ever loſt, while thoſe of the ambitious and the extravagant are ſo often favoured by caſual events?

Since war hath been the cauſe of ſo much evil, why does it not run through every ſpecies of calamity, that it may, at length, tend to procure ſome good? But what hath been the conſequence of the laſt war, one of thoſe that hath been the moſt diſtreſsful to the human race? It hath occaſioned ravages in the four quarters of the globe; and hath coſt Europe alone above a million of its inhabitants. Thoſe who were not its victims are now diſtreſſed by it, and their poſterity will long be oppreſſed under the weight of the enormous taxes it hath given riſe to. The nation, whom victory attended in all parts, was ruined by its triumphs. Its public debt, which, at the beginning of the war, did not exceed 1,617,087,060 livres [67,378,627l. 10s.], aroſe, at the concluſion of the peace, to 3,330,000,000 livres [138,750,000l.], for which it muſt pay an intereſt of 111,577,490 livres [4,649,062l. 1s. 8d.]

But it is time to quit the ſubject of war. Let us now proceed to conſider by what means the nations who have divided the great Archipelago of America, that hath been the origin of ſo many quarrels and ne-

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gotiations, and hath given riſe to ſo many reflections, have been able to raiſe it to a degree of opulence, that may, without exaggeration, be conſidered as the firſt cauſe of all the great events that at preſent diſturb the peace of the globe.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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